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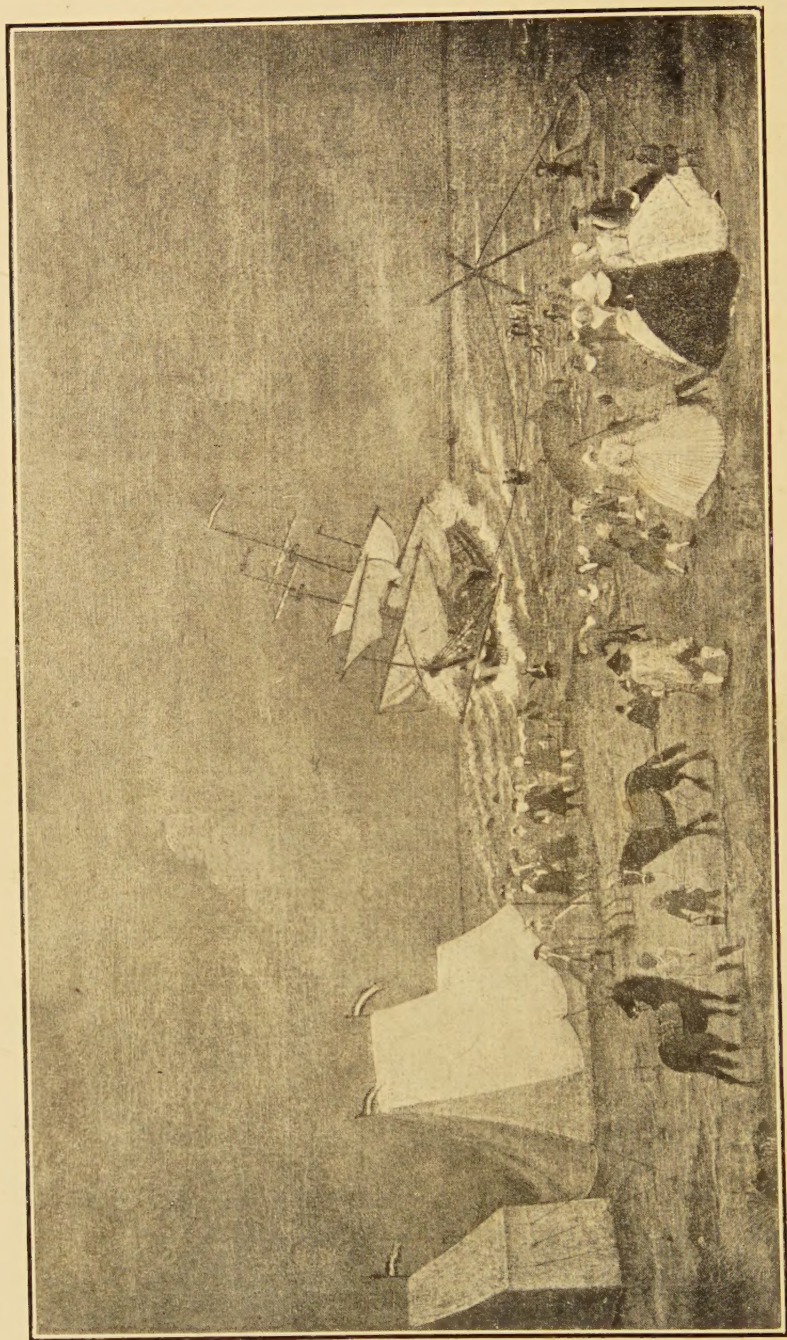












[Elliott.

# THE WRECK OF "DE VIS."

From the painting in the South African Public Library.

Photo]

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# LIFE AT THE CAPE IN MID-EIGHTEENTH CENTURY.

BEING

The Biography of RUDOLF SIEGFRIED ALLEMANN.

*Captain of the Military Forces and Commander of the Castle*

*In the Service of the Dutch East India Company*

*At the Cape of Good Hope.*

BY

O. F. MENTZEL.

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1784.

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The notes are by the Translator and Kathleen M. Jeffreys, B.A.,  
of the Cape Archives.





## PREFACE BY THE AUTHOR.

KIND READER,—

One can hardly complain if, in the host of biographies which fill our bookshops, one finds some that are not altogether trustworthy. These books contain the life-stories of men who had strange adventures, and met with extraordinary reversals of fortune; and though they are not, of course, all without distinction fictitious or incredible, still there are very few among them in which the real facts are not exaggerated and embellished for the sake of effect.

My readers will perhaps suspect me of doing the same sort of thing in this life of Herr Allemann. I cannot prevent them from suspecting me, but I will do all that I can to remove their doubts. For this reason, I solemnly declare that my sole purpose, in writing this biography, is to promote the glory of God, and to show how wonderful is His power. The way in which the All-Highest saves, supports and guides those whom He intends to bring to greatness is not always hidden from us. It will be seen from this narrative that God, in leading my hero to the position of high honour which he came to occupy, made use of instruments which so humbled him that to human understanding the total ruin of his fortunes seemed inevitable.

Real happenings are always more remarkable than the most elaborate fiction; and therefore I earnestly assure my readers, in the name of all that an honourable man holds sacred, that in my whole narrative, not a circumstance, not a single word even, has been exaggerated; I need hardly say nothing fictitious has been introduced. I am not the sort of man who writes books for the profit of a publisher; still less would I seek to entertain the public with fictitious tales. I do not deny that I have several times been minded to write this biography and have it printed, but the writing of books has never been my affair; and in the end, it was a single circumstance that induced me, in my present enjoyable state of leisure, to take up the pen.

As for this circumstance that I have mentioned, I hardly think it necessary to relate it, especially as it is not directly concerned with my subject. I may say, however, that it was the beautiful book entitled "Newest Description of the

Cape of Good Hope, together with the Diary of a Journey to the Upper and Lower (or Greater and Lesser) Namaqua-Hottentots," which induced me to embark upon my present undertaking. This book was first published some few years ago, and a kind friend lent it to me. Before I had read it I was under the impression that the author of the diary was Herr Allemann himself, for he has, on several occasions, travelled over that part of the country. When I read the book, however, I found that one Allamand was the author, and that the first edition, which was in Dutch and had notes, had been published in Holland.<sup>1</sup>

This book, which I can highly recommend to those who love authentic descriptions of foreign lands, must not be classed among the inferior sort of travel books, from which it is distinguished by its entire truthfulness. I can bear witness, for the glory of Truth, that nothing in it has been exaggerated, since I lived at the Cape of Good Hope myself for about eight years. Here and there, however, points of interest have been omitted. Perhaps the author will make up for this in the promised second part; but it may be that he has made these omissions, either deliberately, thinking the matters in question to be sufficiently well known, or through an oversight. Some of these points I shall introduce here and there, in my present narrative.

Meanwhile I desire nothing more than that my readers may read this book in the same spirit as that in which I have written it—namely to the glory of God, the All-Wisest, Who marvellously accomplishes what He wills. With a prayer for divine mercy, I take leave of my kind reader.

O. F. MENTZEL.

Glogau, 30th May, 1781.

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<sup>1</sup> The book here referred to is probably the "Nieuwste en Beknopte Beschryving van de Kap der Goede-Hope," which was compiled by Allamand, a professor at Leyden, and Klockner, a physician residing at Amsterdam. The Journal gives the account of an expedition to Namaqualand, July 16, 1761 to April 27, 1762. The book was first published in Amsterdam in 1778; a French edition followed, and then a German one, published at Leipzig, in 1779.

## TABLE

Of the chief coins in use during the period in Holland  
and at the Cape.

### In Holland

The following coins circulated:—

The Stuiver	=	the unit <sup>1</sup>
The Duppeltje	=	2 Stuivers
The unstamped Skilling	=	5½ Stuivers
The stamped Skilling	=	6 Stuivers
The Gulden	=	20 Stuivers
The 3-Gulden piece	=	60 Stuivers
The silver Ducaton	=	63 Stuivers
The Ducaton	=	105 Stuivers

### At the Cape

The following Dutch coins circulated, but with changed value:—

The Stuiver	The Gulden
The Duppeltje	The 3-Gulden piece
The stamped Skilling	The Ducaton

The following Dutch coins circulated but with changed value<sup>2</sup>:—

The unstamped Skilling	=	6 Stuivers
The silver Ducaton	=	78 Stuivers

The following were the coins peculiar to the Cape:—

The Cape Gulden	=	16 Stuivers
The Cape Rijksdaalder	=	48 Stuivers

<sup>1</sup> The Stuiver is approximately equivalent to the English penny. The Dutch Gulden was therefore worth about 1s. 8d.; the Cape Gulden, about 1s. 4d.; and the Ducaton, about 9s.

<sup>2</sup> Since these coins were worth more at the Cape than in Holland, it was possible, as the author is careful to point out, for a visitor to the Cape, by taking a number of them with him, to make a considerable profit: 8½ per cent. on the skillings, and 23½ per cent. on the Ducatons.





## CHAPTER I.

### Introduction to the Narrative.

Herr Rudolph Siegfried Allemann was not of noble birth; his family, however, was one of those which of old used to be called Patrician, to distinguish them from the common citizen class; while several of his kinsmen and nearest relatives have filled noble offices. I have had the honour not only to serve him for a long time in a civil capacity, but also to act as instructor in Dutch, writing, arithmetic, and Christian doctrine, to his three children. These are, his son, Nicolaus Anton, and his two daughters, Gertraut and Christiane. For some years, therefore, I ate at his table; while Madame Allemann provided me with breakfast and supper, as well as with tea, coffee, sugar and tobacco. In addition, I often received beautiful presents from them, especially on New Year's Day. Besides all this, I have often, during my leisure moments, enjoyed the privilege of Herr Allemann's society, in his house, or in the garden; but I never so far forgot the respect due to him as to dare to ask questions concerning his ancestors or his birthplace. The latter, indeed, I may have known and forgotten again.

Once, when I took occasion to remark that I had known, in the chief office of the Treasury in Berlin, a Hofrath<sup>1</sup> Allemann, my patron eagerly inquired whether I knew any further particulars concerning this gentleman. I replied that he was already dead, and had left a widow,—a native of Helmstad, and a daughter of the late Professor Böttcher—and two children; his post had been obtained by Hofrath Mutzelius, who had been living at the time in the same house, in the Heiligen-Geist Strasze in Berlin, where Hofrath Allemann died. When my patron heard all these details, he knew that I had been speaking the truth, so he told me that this Hofrath Allemann had been his brother. He mentioned also that he had two other brothers, one of whom was a Major in a regiment of Dragoons, while the other lived in Berlin and occupied an important civil post.

I never knew this last brother, so I have forgotten his

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<sup>1</sup> Hofrath = councillor; a title of honour.

title. Major Allemann, however, was in 1747 still in Silesia, as Colonel of the Dragoons in the district of Hainau. He had that year to post a non-commissioned officer at Friedeberg on the Queis for recruiting purposes, and he once came into the town to see whether this officer was working industriously. I myself happened to be in Friedeberg at that time, so I had the pleasure of seeing the Colonel, though it was only after his departure that I learned who he was; I found this out by questioning the recruiting officer. I then lamented that I had not known before, since I could have given the Colonel much welcome news, while I myself would have been more closely bound to his brother at the Cape of Good Hope. Shortly afterwards, the officer took a recruit he had made to join the squadron, and he then reported my words to the Colonel. The latter was so eager to see me that he speedily set out to ride to Friedeberg, but in Löwenberg an express messenger reached him, with the news that in a few days his Majesty the King was going to pass through Hainau and would inspect the troops in the district. The Colonel was therefore obliged to turn back, and postpone his visit to Friedeberg, and shortly afterwards I left the town. Colonel Allemann later received the title of Major-General, and had command of his own regiment of Dragoons, in Brandenburg or Pomerania; some years later he retired, and he died shortly afterwards on his estate, in peaceful old age. I, therefore, never had the pleasure of giving him news of his brother.

The fact that I have made known the name of this near kinsman of Captain Allemann, cannot be taken amiss by any other members of the family who may still be alive, for, if they confer honour upon the hero of my story, they must equally receive it from him. Herr Allemann experienced many moments in which capricious fortune poured out all her malice on his head, but he cannot be reproached with any humiliation, for he, like all the true-hearted and heroic, remained unchanged, even in the darkest days. Indeed, all the adverse events which are related in my narrative confer great honour upon the hero, for he bore them, and surmounted them, with a resolute courage and a steadfastness which do him infinite credit. Without these, he must inevitably have been overcome; but the Almighty supported him, and gloriously turned every misfortune that he encountered to his greater good fortune in the end. Since I intend to merit the credence accorded to a biographer, and not the idle fame of a clever writer of fictitious romance, I have been obliged, in the interests of Truth, to relate all



the misfortunes that befell my hero. But it was, in fact, just when writing those passages that I felt most certain that my biography, if it should come to the notice of any members of Herr Allemann's family, would be very welcome to them. From it they will learn the real truth of matters about which they may perhaps have heard contradictory and almost unintelligible reports.

When I left the Cape of Good Hope, Herr Allemann occupied the following important posts:—Captain of the Military Forces; Head of the Garrison, and Commander of the Castle. He ranked as an Upper-Merchant, and was also President of the Council of Justice, and Assessor to the Council of Policy, in the service of the Dutch East India Company.

I expect that few of my readers will be able to understand these offices and their inter-connection, so it is necessary for me to explain them. Herr Allemann, then, was:—

#### **(a) Captain of the Military Forces.**

This must not be taken to mean the same thing that it does in Germany; to mean, that is, an officer who is in charge, under the commanding officer, of one Company of a regiment. In the whole of the East Indies, and in all the stations and establishments that belong thereto, both on the mainland and on the islands, there is but one single Major-General, who lives at Batavia, and to whom is entrusted the supervision of all the military forces in those remote and widely-scattered lands. The Major-General is the commander of no special regiment. He has under him no staff-officers, colonels, lieut.-colonels, or majors. His immediate subordinates are the captains, who are in command of the different garrisons, and who are all under his orders, no matter how far from Batavia they may be stationed. The Cape of Good Hope is the only exception. It is entirely independent of the government at Batavia, and its Captain is therefore in no way under the command of the Major-General.

The captains are not in charge of individual companies; they are the heads of the military forces in their plantations. The subalterns—lieutenants and ensigns—each have a company; but, in fact, they give themselves little or no concern, at the Cape of Good Hope, about their companies. These are really managed by the sergeants, of whom each company has two, who take charge alternately, week by week, or even month by month. The officers do nothing, except take the guard, turn and turn about, and even that they do in the manner most convenient to themselves.

When, in January or February, the first annual East Indian homeward-bound fleet, or when, at any time, English, French, Danish or other foreign ships, lie at anchor in the Bay, the officer of the guard has to remain in the guard-house, both night and day, for fully twenty-four hours. Even so, however, he usually takes his midday dinner with the Governor, unless the latter is living in the Company's garden, outside the Castle. When the first Home-fleet has sailed, however, and when no foreign ships, but only Dutch East-Indiamen, or Company's ships bound to the East, are in the Bay, the officer leaves the guard-house after the tattoo, and after the Adjutant's first round of inspection; that is, at about half-past-eleven every evening. He sleeps at his house, and returns to the guard again when the gate has been opened; that is, at about six o'clock in the morning. When no ships are in the Bay, the officer inspects the guard at about eight o'clock, then puts the sergeant in charge and goes away, returning the next morning about seven, so as to hold the parade again at eight.

Now, since all the lieutenants, ensigns, and their companies (each of which, counting in the exempted men and free workmen, is about sixty strong) are under the command of the Captain, the latter is:—

**(b) Commander of the Garrison.**

In the garrison are included not only the soldiers in the Castle, but also those who, while still really soldiers, are exempted from service, and pay in lieu of it 4 rds. (or 9 gulden 12 stuivers) a month each. They receive of course their full military pay, together with ration allowance<sup>1</sup> and bread. In addition, there are those who are called free-workmen, and who, instead of soldiering, work at the trades they have learnt for masters to whom they are assigned. Then the Governor, in addition to his guard, which consists of a sergeant, two corporals, twelve grenadiers and six musketeers, has twelve men whom he can employ on his private business, without cost to himself; the Vice-Governor has three, the Fiscal and the Captain have two each; the merchants and officers, one each. These gentlemen choose men who have learnt a trade, such as tailors, shoemakers, and so on. The men receive from the Company their full military pay, together with the customary ration allowance and bread; they have in return to do, for nothing, whatever their masters may require. The late Governor, Mijtheer Swellengrebel, had among

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<sup>1</sup> "Kostgeld."

his free workmen, while I was there, one cook, one confectioner and baker, one painter, three huntsmen, two tailors, one shoemaker and one butler. There were two others, but they were exempt and paid service money.

In addition to these, the artillerymen are reckoned among the garrison, but these do not amount to more than one gunner, one under-gunner, and eight or ten "bosch-schieter."<sup>1</sup> I have often marvelled that this Castle, which is well provided with over a hundred cannon, should have so few artillerymen. Of course, it is true that on the approach of an enemy all the sailors stationed at the Cape have to go to the Castle and serve as artillerymen; but all that these good people, and the gunners in command of them, know of their work is how to load and fire. The ball goes wherever Providence may direct it,—just as when the firing takes place from a ship, which never remains still for a moment. This is the reason why in sea-fights so few men, as a rule, are wounded or killed; but in sea-fights, of course, the object is rather to disable the ship and to destroy masts and cordage, than to kill the crew.

Finally, the various workmen in the Castle, joiners, carpenters, masons, glaziers, turners, smiths, wheelwrights, locksmiths, coppersmiths, tinkers, bakers, etc., are reckoned as belonging to the garrison, and as far as personal inspection is concerned, they are under the supervision of the Captain. In their work, they are under the Dispensir.

### (c) As Commander of the Castle.

The Captain has under his inspection, not only the ramparts and battlements, but also the arsenal and all that belongs to it, whether situated on the five bastions, in the arsenal-room of the Castle or in the three separate batteries outside it. He has charge, moreover, of the armoury for small arms, and of the necessary gunmakers who are attached to it; of the sergeant, two corporals, and subordinate ranks at the separate battery,—which has sixteen cannon and is called the Water-Kasteel—and of the corporals and men at the small redoubts, each of which has six cannon.

It is the ammunition, and in particular the five powder magazines, which are the chief care of the Commander. Bombs, grenades, and cannon-balls lie piled up pyramid-fashion in large quantities all over the Castle; but none of the powder magazines is allowed to be opened except in the

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<sup>1</sup> Huntsmen.

presence of the Captain. About once a year, the powder in stock, contained in many hundreds of barrels, each holding half or a whole hundredweight, is taken out of the cellars and put in the open air outside the Castle. It goes without saying that sentries are posted far and wide around the place to see that no one comes near with a lighted pipe or any other form of fire. Besides this, the Captain has to be present during the operation, and until the powder is returned to its proper place.

**(d) The Captain also ranks as an Upper-Merchant.**

It must not be imagined that he has anything to do with, or exercises any supervision over, the commercial business of the Company. Not at all! He merely ranks as a merchant, because in the East-India Company's establishments, degrees of rank are reckoned in terms of Upper-Merchants, Merchants, and Under-Merchants, and in each division rank goes according to seniority. The following table shows the relative ranks of the officials at the Cape of Good Hope:—

**(i) "De Edel Heer," that is the Governor.**

When he passes the guard, it presents arms; the officer salutes with his spontoon, and the drum is beaten.

**(ii) The three Upper-Merchants.**

The first is the Vice-Governor, commonly called "Mijnheer de Tweede." The guard presents arms for him and the officer takes off his hat, but he is not saluted, nor is the drum beat.

The second is the Independent Fiscal; for him the guard falls in with shouldered arms.

The third is the Captain; when he passes the guard it first presents and then orders arms.

(As a general rule, however, the three Upper-Merchants, when they approach the guard-house, give a sign to the sentry on duty as he calls the rest of the guard, and then the men merely stand in single file under the gate and take their hats off.)

**(iii) The Merchants.**

When they pass the guard-house, or any other post, the sentry alone presents arms.

The first is the director of the office in which is carried on all the correspondence with Holland and Batavia; where all official notices are



promulgated, and where, in short, all business is done which does not properly belong to the offices of justice, trade, or salaries.

The second controls the expenditure; that is, he sees to the provisioning of the garrison, the ships' crews, the hospitals, the slaves and the Governor's kitchen. He has under him the granaries, the bakeries, the mills, and everything of that sort.

The third has charge of the Company's warehouse, in which all sorts of merchandise are kept for sale; materials, stuffs, groceries; iron, steel, copper and tinware; writing materials, and especially everything useful for production and manufacture. This official, therefore, may in the ordinary sense be called a merchant, since he both buys and sells on behalf of the Company; selling the kind of goods I have mentioned and buying such things, for example, as ivory.

The fourth is called the shop-keeper; he has to sell the Company's cotton goods, but only wholesale, or by the piece. He deals in such things as fine calico, chinz, gingham, "*salemporis*," "*geras*," "*bastar*," and "*hanegatjes*,"<sup>1</sup> as well as quilted counterpanes.

The shopkeeper has besides, every six months—that is in the latter half of February and of August—to pay out the wages of all the Company's servants, civil, military and naval. After this, all the books are balanced; the warehouses are closed, and the value of the goods in hand is drawn up and transferred to new account-books. Moreover, to prevent any error from creeping into the pay register, a general muster is held throughout the Indies on the last day of August in each year. Then the names of all those in the service of the

<sup>1</sup> *Salemporis* = a kind of cotton cloth. *Hobson-Jobson*.

*Geras*.—*Ras* is a commercial term for serge. *Geras* would include the various kinds obtainable in the East.

*Bastar* may be a misprint for *bafta*, a kind of calico; or it may be derived from *bast*, a commercial term for an Indian fabric composed of silk and *bast*, or camel's hair.

*Hanegatjes* possibly = *Annabatchies* or *aunneketchies*, kinds of Indian cotton piece-goods.

Company, from the highest to the lowest, are called over, and the men have to answer either personally, or through their respective superiors.

The four Merchants are, in addition, all Assessors to the Councils of Justice and of Policy; their other functions are only secondary.

(iv) The Under-Merchants.

The number of these is not definitely fixed. If a bookkeeper has certain work entrusted to him, he ranks, for the time being, as an Under-Merchant. Hence, the numbers vary by a couple more or less.

The following officials are definitely ranked, according to seniority, as Under-Merchants.

The Landdrost or Fiscal of the Country Districts. He lives at Stellenbosch, a place distant from the Cape a journey of about eight hours.

The Head of the Trade Office, where are kept all the books and accounts, and where, at the end of every year, statements of all accounts whatsoever, whether principal or secondary, have to be prepared, and entered, in summarised form, in the general account books.

The Head of the Pay-office. Here are kept the accounts of all the Company's servants. Their names are entered or cancelled as the case may be, and a record is kept of the pay they have earned, or have received; that they owe, or that is owed to them.

The Head of the Office of Justice. He is also Secretary to the Councils of Justice and of Policy, and keeps the minutes of their meetings.

The Cashier; that is the official who receives all the cash payments of the Company; he also receives and cashes all drafts signed by the Governor.

The Head of the Orphan Court.

The Assistant Fiscal.

The Store-keeper (Kampanjemeester) who has charge of the sailors.

The Keldermeester, who looks after the Company's wines and European beer.

The Principal Doctor.

The Upper Surgeon.

## (v) The Book-keepers.

The secretariat, and the trade and pay offices, each have a book-keeper. There is, besides, one at the slaughter-house; he has the meat for the ships, the hospital and the slaves weighed out in accordance with the requisitions, and keeps the accounts. The right to provide the meat is farmed out, for from six to seven years, to those of the free burghers who will guarantee to supply it at the lowest price. A big piece of land, called the Groene Kloof, is granted to them free of charge, so that they can fatten their cattle on the excellent grazing there.

## (vi) The Assistants, or Clerks.

These are the lowest in rank of the civil officials. Among them are included the garrison clerk, who receives and pays out the ration allowance; the hospital clerk, who keeps count of the sick and convalescent, and records deaths; and the wood clerk, who keeps a register of the wood which is delivered from any of the Company's estates.

## (vii) Military Officials.

Lieutenants rank below Merchants and above Under-Merchants.

Ensigns rank as Under-Merchants. For the most part, however, and especially when the Governor is a man of the pen rather than of the sword, the Under-Merchants have the most influence.

The Adjutant and the Stalmeester (Master of the Company's stables) rank as book-keepers.

The Sergeants rank as clerks. Among the sergeants are reckoned the men in charge of the big battery called the Water-Kasteel; of the station on Robben Island; and of the outpost called the Schuur; as well as the Gunner of the Castle, and the under Landdrost.

By this time, my readers will readily understand that the Company's so-called Merchants and Book-keepers are not really merchants at all. If comparisons are instituted, one can safely say that an Upper-Merchant is of as high rank as a *Geheimder Rath*<sup>1</sup> in Germany; a Merchant occupies

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<sup>1</sup> Privy-Councillor.

perhaps the same position as a Hofrath, and an Under-Merchant, as the head of a government office. Then the Book-keepers are secretaries, and the Assistants, clerks.

**(e) The Captain is also President of the Council of Justice.**

Here the Vice-Governor—Mijnheer de Tweede—and never the Governor himself, acts as judge. The independent Fiscal is the prosecutor, and the four Merchants are assessors, or assistant judges. An Under-Merchant, the head of the Office of Justice, is secretary and keeps the minutes both in this Court and in the Council of Policy. Although the Governor has neither a seat nor a vote in this Court, yet no sentence passed by it is valid or can be promulgated, until the Governor authorises it by writing in the margin "*Fiat executio*," with his signature underneath. If the Governor is not satisfied with a sentence and wants it modified, and if the Court will not act as he desires, he can take the law into his own hands and say "*Ik neem het op mij*" (I take it upon myself); the modification he desires then has to be made. Thereafter, however, he alone has to answer for the consequences, whatever they may be. In the Council of Policy, the Governor himself is President; the three Upper-Merchants and four Merchants together form the Assessors.

**(f) The Captain also acts as Commissarius.**

In this capacity, he has under his inspection certain estates of the Company: namely, Saldanha Bay, Groenekloof (a part of which the Company retained for itself), Roodezand Island and Robben Island. This inspection, however, is not of much importance, and it does not in itself, therefore, constitute any special government post.

Now Herr Allemann had risen to occupy all these important positions solely by his own merit, by good behaviour and an attractive demeanour. You must not imagine that in the Indies or in Africa, promotion goes gradatim, or by seniority; that, for example, when a man has once taken the first step towards promotion and become a corporal, he will inevitably in the course of time be made a sergeant, an adjutant, and finally an officer. This is not so; rank, moreover, receives no preference at the Cape, and a man of rank there is well advised not to mention his superior birth. It is merit—skill, good conduct and temperance—which finds patrons, and promotion results on their recommendation. Herr Allemann went to the Cape as a common soldier; he did the same work and endured the same



treatment as his fellows. Thus he began at the bottom of the ladder, and raised himself to the top, obtaining the highest military position in the country. Before that happened, his military career had almost brought him to a melancholy end; but God in His mercy turned this to a means of leading him, step by step, and after many perilous encounters on the way, to a better and happier condition.

Since my hero's experiences as a soldier were so unfortunate, I think it will not be unwelcome to my readers, if, before I go on to my real narrative, I explain how a soldier in the East Indies is enlisted, paid and looked after. I will devote a special chapter to this explanation; it does not really belong to my story, but I think it will be useful for my readers to know how unhappy is the lot of any young man who, through thoughtlessness or bravado, sets his hopes upon making a fortune in the Indies. As a soldier, he learns nothing more than the business of his calling, and unless he can attract the attention of his superiors, and win their goodwill, by the conspicuous excellence of his behaviour, he is the most wretched of mankind. Anxiety and hunger, contempt and penury, follow him everywhere; even blows are not wanting. I advise all young people of ill-regulated behaviour, who, under the pretext of travelling and of seeing life a little, are recklessly bent upon taking a journey to the East Indies, to read the following chapter with special attention. Probably many a one will be deterred by it from depriving his fatherland of a useful citizen, and will be content, while yet there is time, to learn some occupation whereby he may earn his bread in an honourable and peaceful fashion. As for those, however, who run through the fortunes they have inherited, with the idea of going to the East Indies when their money is exhausted, and making a new fortune there—I will merely repeat to them, as a warning, the Dutch proverb that "He who does not take Amsterdam with him to Batavia, will not bring Batavia back with him to Amsterdam."

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## CHAPTER II.

### How Troops are Enlisted for the East Indies, and the Conditions of Service there.

The Cape of Good Hope is indisputably the best place in the whole of the East Indies for military service. At the other stations—Batavia, Banda, Ceylon, Bengal, Amboina and the rest—the conditions are far worse, and the soldier is held in far lower estimation than at the Cape. Now even at the Cape military service is bad, so you may easily imagine how a soldier fares if he has the misfortune to be stationed at one of the other establishments.

It is true that all the troops in the East Indies receive the same payment, namely, nine Dutch gulden a month, together with a monthly ration allowance, or, in its stead, 6 lbs. a month of salted meat and 40 lbs. of rice. Some few men, who by special favour, are enlisted as “*Adelbursche*,”<sup>1</sup> have indeed a gulden a month more; but except for this, and for a large chest to hold their belongings, they have not the least advantage over the other soldiers. On every ship, moreover, there are, in addition to the two corporals, two soldiers called “*Landspassaten*,” who have a certain authority on board and receive twelve gulden a month; as soon as they reach land, however, they become common soldiers once more, and revert to the ordinary rate of pay.

If I were to explain all the usages, both by land and by sea, of military service in the Dutch East Indies, I should become involved in far too much detail, and I intend, therefore, to confine myself, for the most part, to describing the conditions at the Cape. Now, if I am to show these conditions as they really are, I must choose, to illustrate my account, a type of soldier that is universally found in the Company's service. I shall not choose a type which shows what that service can be like, under extraordinarily favourable circumstances. There are, for example, rich parents in Holland who send refractory sons as soldiers to

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<sup>1</sup> *i.e.* young noblemen or pages. Probably, however, Mentzel means “*Adelborsten*” = midshipmen.

the East. Such men, who are called in Holland mere "Wittebroods-kinder,"<sup>1</sup> are equipped with the baggage necessary for the voyage, with some provisions, with a certain amount of money, and besides, as a rule, with one or more letters of introduction. They have no need to bind themselves through debt to the Company, and they are often so emphatically recommended to the ship's captain that they are mere idlers while on board. These "Wittebroods-kinder," however, do not form more than one per cent. of the soldiers in the Company's service, and such advantages as they enjoy never fall to the lot of Germans or of other foreigners. I shall choose as my typical example, therefore, a German, who, through poverty, and through the utter absence of all other means of help, is driven to go to Holland, and from there as a soldier to the East.

The first asylum which such a man always chooses is the capital, Amsterdam. He gets there either by land, on foot, or else by water; in either case he is poorly clothed, without money, and in want of everything necessary. Before him he sees one of the largest, most populous, and most beautiful of cities. The endless streets, with their intersecting canals, their yellow klinker stones, and their beautiful linden trees, are bordered by the most splendid houses. Around him, in the dwellings, in the shops, in the warehouses, he sees all the riches of the world, while he himself has nothing. His stomach reminds him unceasingly of his need; his weariness admonishes him to look about for some refuge against the approaching night. But his purse is empty, and he knows no expedient whereby he may obtain shelter. His hands are not accustomed to work; moreover, even if he were anxious and able to work, he would find difficulty in obtaining it. He dare not beg, else he might very soon be arrested and sent to the workhouse; if he steals, the penalty is hanging. So he stares wonderingly at all the unaccustomed sights, and in so doing forgets his perplexity: forgets to ponder over ways and means of averting disaster. There are several of these unfortunates in Amsterdam, almost every day; some of them reduced to this wretched plight by misfortune, others by frivolity and dissoluteness. Must not many of them fall into despair, and doubt that they will be preserved? But Providence, the All-Wisest and All-Highest, cares even for these men, who have been forgotten by all the world; and help, unforeseen and unexpected, is often extended to them, without their realising whence it comes.

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<sup>1</sup> *i.e.* favourites, spoilt children.

There are in Holland, and especially in Amsterdam, people known as "Katten-honde." They are idlers, haters of work. Brandy and tobacco are their element. They hang around the city gate, and near the canal turnpikes, where strangers usually come. They amuse themselves all day with others of their type; smoke tobacco; eat bread and cheese which comes out of their pockets; pay a call from time to time upon the beer and brandy stores; but keep an eye all the time, notwithstanding, upon the approaches to the town, so that if lightly laden travellers appear, they can accost them and snatch a little profit.

As soon as the Katten-hond sees a foot-passenger in the distance, he marks him as his prey. He hastens with vigorous strides towards the traveller, bids him "Good-morning" or "Good-day" in passing, and goes a few steps beyond; then turns quickly and gets into conversation with him, usually more or less as follows:

K.: "Friend, can you tell me in which house Gerrit de Buys [or some similar name] lives?"

T.: "No, my friend. I am a stranger, and this is the first time I have been here."

K.: "Dear! Dear! I didn't know that. No offence! Where do you come from?"

T.: "From Germany."

K.: "And from what part of the country?"

T.: "From Magdeburg" [or whatever his State may be].

K.: "Well, I never! If you had come yesterday you would have met a fellow countryman with me."

T.: "What was his name?"

K.: "He had a High German name which I can't remember. He was a cooper by trade; I directed him to a lodging-house, but he had not been there long when his landlord helped him to a post as cooper on a ship. Now he is having a fine time; probably he will be on his ship soon, and earning good money. Have you a trade?"

T.: "No. I am looking for employment."

K.: "What sort of employment? Would you like to travel?"

T.: "Yes, if I could enter the service of the East India Company."

K.: "As soldier, or as sailor?"

T.: "As soldier."

K.: "Have you any money? Can you keep yourself and pay for your board at an inn till the Company next takes men on?"



T.: "No! I have spent all my money on the journey. But if I could only get a lodging until I could enlist, I would gladly and with gratitude pay for everything out of the bounty."

K.: "Listen to me, my friend. The Company does not give a bounty, and it will be six or seven, or even eight weeks before they next take men on. But that doesn't matter at all. You are a fine young man, and the Company won't let your long journey be in vain. I assure you, you will without doubt be taken on. Just follow me; I am an honest man and a citizen of Amsterdam. I will take you to one of my friends, who will give you board and lodging, and help you, too, with the Company; besides that, he will provide you with everything necessary for your travels. You, in return, must repay the good man honestly, and must be content to deduct a little from your pay every month, so as to do so."

T.: "Yes; all this would be very nice, and extremely agreeable to me; but I have heard that it is very easy here to fall into the hands of a 'Seelenverkaufer,'<sup>1</sup> one of these kidnappers who decoy people, and then sell them to the Venetians, or the Genoese, or even to the pirates on the galleys."

K.: "Nonsense! The authorities do not tolerate such people. The gallows would unquestionably be their reward. I don't put people up myself, but come with me, and I will take you to my brother-in-law, who keeps a lodging-house. You will meet other lodgers there; ask them what sort of a man the landlord is. If you don't care to stay with him, I will take you to another place, and another after that, if necessary."

T.: "If that is so, I will gladly go with you."

To such a traveller—a stranger in Amsterdam, and utterly destitute of means—must not the Katten-hond appear to be veritably an angel in disguise? The traveller, as he walks beside his preserver, often in the thankfulness of his heart, lets fall a quiet tear, and he is right to do so.

Meanwhile, he is conducted to a lodging-house, the keeper of which gives him meat, drink and shelter. The Katten-hond, for his trouble, receives a couple of glasses of brandy, and a ducat (three gulden); then he repairs again to his post, where he waits until he can catch some more game. The man, however, who takes in people like our

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<sup>1</sup> Literally—soul-seller.

traveller, and keeps them till they go on board their ships, is a so-called "Seelenverkaufer." He might more reasonably be called "Seelenverhalter."<sup>1</sup> Just think for a moment; what would this typical traveller of ours have done in Amsterdam had it not been for the Katten-hond and the Seelenverkaufer? Would he not, in his state of total destitution, have taken desperate measures to end his life? Overcome by hunger and want, would he not have stolen, robbed, murdered even, and so have come to the gallows and the wheel? God bless all those who save from disaster men so hardly pressed, and who in doing so run the risk of considerable loss to themselves.

The name "Seelenverkaufer" has arisen from the fact that these good people, in order to keep and equip their lodgers, take certain I.O.U.'s (the so-called "Transport-briefe") and sell them to men of means. They are therefore called, in Dutch, Zeel, or Zedel Verkooper, that is paper-sellers; the Germans have corrupted this into Seelenverkaufer, and hence the confusion of meaning.<sup>2</sup>

At last there comes the day, to which all those desiring to enter the Company's service have so eagerly looked forward, when troops for the East Indies are enlisted. The Seelenverkaufer decks out his men as well as possible for the occasion. To those who have no decent clothes he lends either a military uniform—sometimes a Prussian one—or else some civilian costume, such as a lackey's livery. He lends each of them also an overcoat and a false sleeve. They have to dress their hair, but not powder it. When they are all duly equipped, the Seelenverkaufer takes them, in high state, to the Courtyard in front of the East India House. Here there is a great crowd, and the would-be recruits are admitted to the house in batches of twelve, or at most of fifteen. As soon as the door is opened all

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<sup>1</sup> Literally—soul-preserver.

<sup>2</sup> This explanation cannot be correct, for there is no Dutch word *zedel*, meaning paper. Mentzel is evidently thinking of the German *zettel*—pieces of paper—and he appears to regard *zedel* as the Dutch equivalent of this. The real Dutch word appears to have been, not *zedel*, but *ceelen*; that is, bills or drafts on the Company's treasury for monthly pay. The term *ceelen verkooper* was corrupted in Dutch to *ziel verkooper*, of which *seelen verkaufer* is the German equivalent. These *ceelen* were presumably what Mentzel calls "Transport-briefe," that is, printed I.O.U. forms entitling the holder to be repaid through the Company in monthly instalments. One of these forms was issued to each recruit, and when signed by him became negotiable for ready money. The *ceelen*, or *ziel verkoopers* used to raise this money for their men.

the men who are near enough try to force their way inside, and it frequently happens that men are killed in the crush which ensues. The requisite number of men is admitted, then the door is closed again, and anyone who does not immediately draw back is soundly beaten by the doorkeepers.

The men who have been admitted go into the room where the enlistment is taking place. There they find a musket lying on the floor; each man in turn has to pick it up and perform certain exercises with it at the word of command. The men who do this to the satisfaction of the Commissioners, are accepted; the name and birthplace of each is written down; then the whole batch, accepted and rejected alike, are dismissed through another door, and a new batch is admitted. This process is repeated again and again until almost all the men required have been obtained; a few empty places are always kept open for "friends' friends."

It is almost incredible how men try to force their way into the service of the Company. I myself have seen men scramble up to the window of the second story, above the entrance door, and wait there, hanging on to the iron grating, until the door was opened; they then immediately let go, fell on the heads of the men standing around the door, and in this way got carried into the house. Even the rejected men do not give up hope; they put on a different uniform and wait about an hour or an hour-and-a-half. Then they force their way in a second time, and often have the good fortune to be accepted, especially if, at the end of the day, there seems to be a shortage of applicants.

When the enlistment day is over, each man returns to his lodging and is asked by his host whether he is "klaer," that is, whether he has been accepted. If he has not, how melancholy is his response! But there is no cause for despair yet; the Seelenverkaufer still has in reserve certain little notes from good friends of his, and these ensure the acceptance of the bearer. He sends, therefore, the best of his rejected men back to the East India House, armed with these notes, on production of which the men are speedily accepted. If the Seelenverkaufer knows no way of disposing profitably of the men who still remain on his hands, he parts with them and lets them go where they will; but he cannot claim a farthing from them for the board and lodging they have had, no matter how long they have stayed with him. As a rule, however, he has friends and acquaintances among the Seelenverkaufern at the other places where Chambers of the East India Company are

situated, and where there is frequently a shortage of men; that is, at Rotterdam, Middelburg, Delft, Hoorn, and Enckhuysen. He is able, therefore, to send the men whom he cannot dispose of in Amsterdam to his friends in these places; in this way he can recoup himself at all events for the three gulden he spent on the Katten-hond.

Before I go on to describe what next happens to the recruit, I must digress a little in order to make known a certain fraud, against which all young men who propose going to the East ought specially to be on their guard. It is a fraud that the novice is likely to encounter, and one that may have very unfortunate results for him. This is the nature of it: if any recruit for the East Indies has needy relatives—parents, brothers or sisters,—or if he has a wife and children, he can make out, in favour of one of them, a “Maand-zedel,”<sup>1</sup> assigning to him, or her, two or three months’ pay. He has to produce his “Transportbrief,” and to make the assignation at the Stadhuis, before a Commission. Thereafter the assignation cannot be altered until the maker of it either dies, or returns from the East. The money is paid out in full to the assignee, at the East India House, every year as long as the soldier lives. Now it happens, not so often in Amsterdam, as in the smaller East India Chambers, Rotterdam, Middelburg, Delft, Hoorn and Enckhuysen, that certain burghers enlist for the East Indies, and because they are burghers, they are taken on before anybody else. They receive two months’ pay in advance, and sign a Transportbrief. With this, they proceed to the Stadhuis, and there, since it is well known that they are married, they find no difficulty in getting “Maand-zedels” made out. Each assigns three months’ pay to his wife, and then goes in search of a stranger who wants to go to the East, but has been rejected. When he has found a man of this sort, the burgher offers to give up his place and to let the stranger go to the East under his name. He offers to give the stranger his ‘Transportbrief and his order for a chest; but he demands, in return, either a consideration of ten or twelve gulden, or else that he should be allowed to keep the two months’ pay he has received in advance. If the bargain is struck, he gives the stranger a couple of gulden, and offers to stand as surety for the Transportbrief. For doing this he receives the customary three gulden. The stranger is lucky if he gets into his own hands the money for the Transportbrief, for many of these swindlers keep this also, and equip their

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<sup>1</sup> Presumably this was a Maand-ceelen.



substitutes themselves, spending perhaps forty gulden in the process. Meanwhile, the stranger rejoices that he has with so little trouble made so good a bargain; and from this time forward he adopts and answers to the burgher's name. Of the Maand-zedel he of course knows nothing; he does not find out about it until he reaches his destination. Then he discovers that every year two or three months' money is deducted from his pay and given to his non-existent wife in Holland. The result is that his debt to the Company takes much longer to pay off, and until it is paid off he cannot return to Holland. Moreover, if he is promoted and receives higher pay the amount deducted for the Maand-zedel is correspondingly increased. The assignee receives two or three months' pay, whatever be the rate of pay the soldier is earning, nine gulden a month, or fourteen, or twenty. Even if the soldier leaves the service of the Company—which often happens—and becomes a free burgher, he has to take to the Treasury every year money equivalent to two or three months' pay at the rate he was earning when he left the service.

The same sort of fraud is practised upon strangers who are anxious to get some cash in hand. To a man in this position a woman usually presents herself; she offers to give the unsuspecting recruit ten gulden in return for two months' pay, or fifteen gulden for three. She goes with him to the Stadhuis; he says she is his wife or his sister, and has a Maand-zedel made out in her name. He thinks that the assignation of pay is only for a single year; but thereafter, as long as he lives and remains in the East, the money is deducted from his pay and given to the woman, or to the holder of the Maand-zedel, whoever that may be. As for the men who are cheated in this way by courtesans, from whom they do not even get any money,—I say nothing of them.

According to the newspapers, the East India Company some years ago prescribed further precautions against this kind of fraud, and against the misuse of the Maand-zedels. The misuse, however, has not been altogether done away with; the only difference is that now there are more formalities. Ignorant strangers are still cheated. It is not very creditable to the Dutch magistrates that they do not explain more clearly to strangers the meaning of a Maand-zedel before they let them make one out. But these gentlemen like their own burghers to reap profit, even though strangers have to suffer for it; while as for the Company, it has no means of detecting the fraud, if a

defaulting burgher sends a substitute in his place. If a soldier who has been cheated in this way returns from the East and complains, he receives no redress. He is told that another time he will know better than to conceal his own name and assume another man's; that by doing so, he rendered himself liable to prosecution; that the Company did not engage him, and that he has only himself to thank for his troubles. If, on the other hand, he of his own free will has made out and sold a Maand-zedel, he is laughed to scorn for having made such a very bad bargain.

After this long digression I return to my account of the newly-enlisted recruit. It must not be imagined that non-commissioned officers, such as sergeants, corporals and "Landspassaten" are included among the men enlisted. These have already been appointed. The appointments are given to the bearers of certain letters from the Directors; the favourites of the Directors—their servants, cooks, nurses and so forth—get these letters from their masters, and sell them on the quiet. A sergeant pays 500 gulden for a letter; a corporal, 200; a Landspassate, 50.

The day after the enlistment, each Seelenverkaufer has to go to the East India House with his recruits; the roll is called and each man has to present himself before the paymaster. Each receives a "Transportbrief"; that is, an acknowledgment that he is in the holder's debt for 150 gulden, together with an undertaking to pay it off little by little;<sup>1</sup> this he has to sign. Each also receives two months' pay in advance, less one gulden for the Transportbrief; that is, seventeen gulden. The Seelenverkaufer takes possession of both Transportbrief and pay; but in return, he has to swear to bring the recruit on board at the appointed time. If he fails to do so, he has to return both the Transportbrief and the eighteen gulden. Finally, the recruit receives an order for a chest three-and-a-half feet long, one-and-a-half broad, and one-and-a-half deep. Into this he has to pack his possessions; the value of it—four-and-a-half gulden—is stopped out of his pay. When these formalities are completed, each recruit is dismissed until further orders; that is, until the day of the muster is announced with a blowing of trumpets. The next day the chests have to be taken to be marked and sent on board; and then the ship's complement goes on board also.

<sup>1</sup> Mentzel's meaning is not clear in this passage. It may be: "Each receives a Transportbrief, i.e. an I.O.U. for 150 gulden [this will later be stopped little by little out of his pay]; this he has to sign."

From what I have said it will be seen that the recruit starts his career a debtor. There is entered against him in the books:

	g.	st.
The Transportbrief ... ..	150	0
Two months' pay in advance ... ..	18	0
One chest (half-a-month's pay)...	4	10
	<hr/>	
	172	10

All this has to be earned and paid off little by little. Other amounts, moreover, are from time to time added to the original sum, and the whole debt can scarcely be paid off in less than five years.

Meanwhile, when the Seelenverkaufer and his men return home from the East India House, there is generally a good dinner awaiting them. Afterwards, each man receives from the Seelenverkaufer a three-gulden piece; of the entire debt of 172½ gulden, this is all that the recruit actually gets into his own hands to do as he likes with. The rest of the pay given in advance, together with the money received for the Transportbrief, is kept by the Seelenverkaufer. In return for this, however, the latter has to keep the recruit until he goes on board. It makes no difference whether the man came to him three days or three months before the enlistment took place; from the one he has to make good the loss incurred on the other. In the second place, he has to equip the recruit for the journey. He gives each man a cloth coat and a pair of trousers to match; two striped linen doublets,<sup>1</sup> and two pairs of trousers to match; two blue shirts, a pair of shoes and a pair of woollen stockings; a little barrel of gin, about six pounds of tobacco, and a couple of dozen bad pipes; a hammock made of hempen canvas, with two iron hooks at the ends; a mattress, two-and-a-half yards long and three-quarters of a yard wide, also made of canvas, and stuffed with cow-hair; a metal spoon, a little pewter mug, an earthenware water-bottle, a metal tube for drawing the gin out of the cask, and a knife.

The cost of all these things, including the gin and the tobacco, amounts to not more than forty gulden. It will be thought, therefore, that the Seelenverkaufer makes an exorbitant profit, but in fact he does not. Three times a year he has to keep, sometimes for weeks on end, fifteen or twenty prospective recruits; he is not in a position,

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<sup>1</sup> "Brustlätze";—Grimm gives "stomacher or doublet"; it is not clear just what sort of garment is meant here.

therefore, to advance the money for the Transportbrief and await its repayment. Even if he were a capitalist, he would not and could not do it. For one thing, there is too much risk involved; besides, he would be obliged to keep fifty or sixty Transportbriefe a year, and to await repayment from four to five years. This would be quite impossible. In the course of five years he would have dealt with 300 men, possibly even more; 300 Transportbriefe amount to 45,000 gulden, and of this he would have collected little or nothing in the first three years, for the Company always sees first to the repayment of what it has itself advanced.

The Seelenverkaufer goes, therefore, to another sort of people, the "Zeel"—or "Zedel-koopers,"<sup>1</sup> as they are called; these are usually rich capitalists, and they hazard their money on this kind of venture. They give not more than eighty gulden for each Transportbrief, and they see to it that they do not have more than three or four debtors on one and the same ship. Similarly, the assurers do not like to insure more than two or three thousand gulden on a single ship. Now let us just see what profit the Seelenverkaufer does make. He receives:

	g. st.
Two months' pay in advance ... ..	18 —
For the Transportbrief ... ..	80 —
	98 —
He pays out:	
	g. st.
To the Katten-hond ... ..	3 —
For the Transportbrief ... ..	1 —
(at the East India House)	
To the surety for the recruit ... ..	3 —
To the surety of the Transportbrief	3 —
To the recruit himself ... ..	3 —
For equipment ... ..	40 —
	53 —

He therefore has left ... .. 45 —

Out of this, he has to keep the recruit for six, eight, ten, even twelve or fifteen weeks; this happens especially in winter, about Christmas-time, when the hard frosts prevent the ships from going out. In addition, he has to run the risk that the recruit may desert, or die, before going on

<sup>1</sup> Presumably Ceelen-koopers, that is, the men who bought, or, in other words, advanced money on the Transportbriefe.



board; in either case, the Seelenverkaufer has to return the ninety-eight gulden, and pay all the expenses. Moreover, we have not counted at all the loss that he incurs through the would-be recruits whom he has kept, and who in the end are not taken on by the Company. As for the Zedel-kooper, he appears to make seventy gulden on his transaction, since he gives eighty gulden and is repaid one hundred and fifty. In fact, however, he runs greater risks even than the Seelenverkaufer. The latter's responsibility ends when he has taken his man on board; the Zedel-kooper, on the other hand, has two dangers to face after that. In the first place, if the recruit dies, the Company first deducts from the pay he has earned all that is owing to itself; the Zedel-kooper has to be content with what is left over, and that, especially during the first two years, is often little or nothing. In the second place, if the ship is wrecked, the Zedel-kooper loses his eighty gulden outright. This holds good even though all the men on board are saved, the debtor among them, and the whole of the cargo; for if the bottom—that is, the ship—is lost, the Company gives not a penny of pay, and as a result, the men, whether sailors or soldiers, officers or non-coms., do not pay their debts either. This is the principle of Bottomry. There are merchants and other capitalists who let sailors have goods or money on credit at thirty per cent. for the whole journey. If the debtors return in safety with their ships, they are obliged to pay. They may have suffered heavy loss; may have had, for example, to throw the merchandise overboard in a storm, in order to save the ship; it makes no difference. If, on the other hand, the ship has been wrecked and they have had to abandon her, no one can claim anything from them. They do not have to pay a farthing, even though they may have saved all their merchandise. If, however, the ship strands, but is subsequently floated again and repaired, the debt has to be repaid. Finally, to return once more to the Zedel-kooper, he at best gets his money only little by little; he has to wait four or five years before the repayment is complete. In that time, the eighty gulden invested at five per cent. would have earned twenty gulden interest; whereas the Zedel-kooper, every time he receives a payment, actually has to give two skillings (twelve stuivers) to the book-keeper and the cashier.

That my readers may gain a clear understanding of the whole subject, I will now enter upon a calculation, extending over five years, as to the pay of a soldier in the East Indies,—what is promised to him, and what he actually receives. I repeat, however, that I am confining myself to the soldier

at the Cape; for since the men at other establishments are, in many respects, treated quite differently;—some, as for example at Batavia, being completely, though very badly, provided for; while others only receive portions of meat and rice; others, again, being obliged, at the *Goede-maande*, to take half their pay in goods instead of in cash;—my calculations would become too extensive, were I obliged to discuss all possible conditions and cases.

A soldier, then, is offered pay at the rate of nine gulden a month; out of this he has to keep himself. In five years, therefore, he should receive five hundred and forty gulden.

While he is on board ship, he is given food and drink; on land he receives twenty-eight stuivers a month "*Kostgeld*"<sup>1</sup> and 6 lbs. a week of bread. This *kostgeld* is not deducted from his pay, and it, therefore, must be left out of our calculations. Since, however, it would not be possible for him to live on the *kostgeld*, he is also given twenty-eight stuivers a month "*Subsidiengeld*." For this, two gulden (forty stuivers) a month are entered to his debit account and deducted from his pay. The soldier at the Cape also receives twenty-four, twenty-six or twenty-eight stuivers a month "*Dienstgeld*," but as a rule this has at first to go towards paying for a uniform. As soon as he arrives he has to buy an old uniform, which costs from three to five *rijksdaalders* (at forty-eight stuivers each), according to the condition it is in. Unless he has sufficient cash in hand to pay for it, his *dienstgeld* is kept back for this purpose, and he does not get any of it. He has to wear the old uniform until new ones are given out to the whole garrison; this happens every two years. A new uniform costs twenty-five gulden; this is stopped out of his pay. The uniform consists of a blue coat, waistcoat and trousers of kersey, adorned with brass buttons; a hat with a band of gold lace round it, and a pair of fast-dyed red stockings. It is worth twenty-five gulden; it could not be bought more cheaply in Holland; indeed, the Company makes no profit by selling it at this price. The uniforms are made by those of the soldiers who are tailors by trade. Each of these men has to turn out one uniform a week; in return for this, he is excused from military service.

Finally, on the last day of February and on the last of August, the soldier receives the so-called "*Goede-maande*"; that is, two months' pay. For every gulden, however, he gets, at the Cape, only fifteen stuivers; the rest is sheer profit to the Company, which thus makes twenty-five per

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<sup>1</sup> *Kostgeld*=ration allowance.

cent. on the transaction. Moreover, the Company makes its payments in silver ducats, giving each one as the equivalent of seventy-eight stuivers. Now the ducaton is worth only sixty-three stuivers in Holland, so the Company makes a profit of  $23\frac{17}{21}$  per cent. on each coin, while the soldier really gets only  $51\frac{4}{21}$  per cent. of the pay he is supposed to receive. If, however, he can go without his pay until he returns to Holland, and then demand it himself, he receives the full amount,—twenty stuivers to the gulden, that is—less six stuivers in every hundred gulden. It should be noticed that the soldier's pay is not reckoned from the time when he enlists, nor even from the day he goes on board. It begins only when the ship has passed the three barrels that lie anchored in the Texel. From this point to the Cape the voyage usually lasts about four months. Taking this into account, we may now draw up our calculation:

<b>The Soldier's pay</b>	g. st.
for 5 years, at 9 gulden a month ...	540 0

**From this there has been deducted:**

<b>Subsidiengeld</b>	g. st.
for $4\frac{2}{3}$ years, at 2 gulden a month	112 0
(This is what appears in the Company's books. Since, however, he only received 28 st. for the 2 gulden, he has really had only 78 g. 8 st.)	

<b>Goede-maande</b>	
for $4\frac{2}{3}$ years, that is, 18 months' pay ...	162 0
(Since, however, for each gulden he received only 15 stuivers, he has really only had 121 g. 10 st.)	

<b>Uniforms,</b>	
of which he must have had at least 2, possibly 3. They are 25 g. each	50 0
	<hr/> 324 0

<b>There remains of his pay ...</b>	<hr/> 216 0
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<b>Of this he owes</b>	
for the Transportbrief, etc. ...	172 10
	<hr/>

<b>He has therefore to the good</b>	
at the end of 5 years ...	33 10

If at the end of five years the soldier returns to Holland—and this often happens—he has to pay twenty gulden for the “Rudergang,” so his final profit is then thirteen gulden ten stuivers. The meaning of “Rudergang” is as follows: the ships that return to Holland from the East have scarcely one-third as many men on board as those making the outward journey. It is therefore customary for the soldiers and non-commissioned officers on board to help in the steering, but since they do not understand how to do it, they have to pay; a man coming from Batavia pays forty gulden; from the Cape, twenty. This money forms one of the perquisites of the Captain and of the upper-steersman. As against this Rudergang, however, there is the fact that extra pay is sometimes given for the homeward voyage. The ships of the first and second return fleets, which usually reach Holland in June, July and August, do not sail up La Manche between England and France, but sail around England, and reach Holland *via* the North Sea. This is done to prevent the ships from carrying contraband, and disposing of it to the English or the French in the Channel. Since, however, the cold of the northern latitudes makes this detour dangerous, every man on board, from the highest to the lowest, receives two months’ extra pay. The last homeward-bound ships are not obliged to take this Northern route through the Arctic Circle, for they generally arrive at the season of great cold, of short days and long nights. These ships are, therefore, allowed to sail up the Channel, but if they do so the extra pay is of course not given. It is customary then, before the Channel route is decided upon, for the whole ship’s company to be assembled, and asked which route they would prefer.

The question now arises, how much exactly has the soldier at the Cape to keep himself and live on? The Goede-maande have to be entirely devoted to the provision of shoes, stockings, linen, etc. His dienstgeld goes, unless he has a supply of ready money, to pay for his first uniform. Moreover, since the Company does not provide sleeping places in the barracks, he has also to buy himself a bed. This consists of a wooden frame covered by a seal-skin; it is called a “catel,” and costs, according to the condition it is in, twelve, sixteen or even twenty Dutch skillings of six stuivers each. The soldier is lucky if he has a mattress and coverlet to spread upon the catel; if he has not, he must be content to sleep on the skin and cover himself with his coat. When he leaves the barracks he can sell his bed and so recover the money he spent on it, but it is nevertheless extremely unjust of the Company not to provide beds for its men.



The soldier has, then, to keep himself on 6 lbs. of bread a week, and in addition :

	g.	st.
On the 1st of every month—Kostgeld ... ..	—	28
On the 16th of every month—Subsidiengeld...	—	28
	2	16

This means that in a month of thirty days he has to live on  $1\frac{1}{3}$  stuivers a day. Remember that at the Cape money is abundant, and in consequence everything is dear; that the stuiver is the smallest coin for which anything can be bought; that even in the meanest eating-houses a little portion of meat costs two stuivers; and then think whether it is possible for a man to live there upon less than two stuivers a day!

This, then, was the position in which Herr Allemann found himself when he arrived at the Cape. He had indeed brought some money with him to Amsterdam, and he was not obliged to go to a Seelenverkaufer to be kept; but he had not enough to enable him to provide his own outfit. He therefore took two months' pay in advance, and signed a Transportbrief. He went to a Zedel-kooper, and himself received the eighty gulden with which to buy his equipment. Since he spent the money himself, he had a better outfit than the ordinary; in the end, however, when he came to the Cape he was much in debt and as badly off as the meanest soldier.

I can now proceed with the story of his life. This long digression into economics was necessary, that my readers might understand the misfortunes which befell Herr Allemann shortly after his arrival at the Cape. These I shall relate in a subsequent chapter.

## CHAPTER III.

**Reasons which led Herr Allemann to go to the East Indies, together with a description of the journey to the Cape of Good Hope.**

I must first attempt to describe my hero. Herr Rudolph Siegfried Allemann was not unnecessarily great of stature; in height he was perhaps five feet, six or seven inches, but he was, at the same time, well developed, though not too robust of limb. He had light brown hair, an open brow, bright eyes, not too small, a vivacious countenance, and a fresh, healthy complexion. He was plump, but not too fat; had a well shaped nose and mouth; a somewhat guttural, but agreeable utterance, and a manly, but supple, bearing. He did not like company or compliments; but, at the same time, he was polite, obliging and talkative, besides being enterprising and zealous. He represented, in a word, a typical Prussian officer, upright and courteous, and he had in fact actually been one. In his youth he was a Cavalry Lieutenant in the Service of His Majesty King Friedrich Wilhelm of Prussia, but he was slandered to the King, perhaps because he was not of noble birth, and so fell into disfavour. He soon noticed this, but as he was happy tempered and had a good conscience, it did not trouble him. He only strove the more diligently to perform his duties as a good officer should. When, however, at the next review he rode in front of His Majesty and saluted as usual with his sword, he heard the King say some words which betokened extreme disfavour. As to the cause of this disfavour, I abstain from publishing what he himself told me of the matter, for the reason that the very improbability of the crime imputed to him contradicts the charge.

Meanwhile, he realised that he was in a position of very great danger, and although his conscience entirely acquitted him, he did not dare to wait for the storm to break. He believed that he would come off better if he did not have to answer for himself from the inside of the cage. Since therefore his arrest had not yet been ordered when his squadron was dismissed, he did not hesitate to prepare for

flight. He had his best horse fed, ate a little himself, since he was tired after the review, then had the horse saddled and rode away. He had with him but little linen, and perhaps still less money. As soon as he was across the frontier he wrote to the regiment, announcing where he was, and asking for a safe-conduct that he might return and answer for himself; since, as he said, it was not his intention to desert his standards like a perjurer; he merely wished to be able to make a better defence. At the same time he wrote to his family, asking for money. All, however, was in vain, and as he subsequently learnt, his family was not even allowed to write to him, still less to send him money.

When he received no answer to his letters he thought it advisable to go further away. He sold his uniform and travelled on; soon after, however, he sold his horse also and found another means of getting into Holland and reaching Amsterdam. There he fell in with an honest man who gave him lodging for a reasonable payment. Herr Allemann then tried again to get money and an answer to his previous letters; but he met with no success. The little money that he had brought with him, and that he had obtained for his horse, was now almost all spent, and he dared not let himself get into extreme straits. He heard that the East India Company was taking on officers and sailors for the fleet which was next to be despatched. He made inquiries about the voyage to the East Indies, and when he had made his position known to his host, the latter advised him to attempt the journey to the East. The soldiers for the fleet were being enlisted at the time. Herr Allemann resolved to enter this service, so he went to the East India House, accompanied by his host. At a word from the latter he was admitted through a different door from that about which the crowd was thronging. In the room where the recruits were being taken on he advanced towards the musket which lay on the floor and picked it up in the proper Prussian way, at the word of command. It was soon seen that he understood the Prussian system of drill, and his person was pleasing, so he was asked his name and birthplace, both were entered in the ship's book, and he was thereby taken into the service of the Company.

The next day he went again with his host to the East India House, and as he had been one of the first men to be accepted he was very soon called up. He stepped forward, and his host presented himself at the same time as a surety. Herr Allemann received the usual seventeen gulden, together with a printed "Transportbrief" and a printed order for a chest. With these the two returned home again, and the host

received three gulden for having stood as surety. Then the host went with Herr Allemann to a Zedelkooper, and, by again going surety, obtained eighty gulden. As before, he received three gulden for his services. Subsequently the host instructed Herr Allemann about everything that he needed for the long journey, and helped him to buy everything as cheaply as possible. At length it was publicly announced by a beating of drums that on an appointed day the muster would be held; that on the following day the chests must be brought to the East India House to be marked and taken on board; and that immediately thereafter the men themselves would go on board. The host accompanied Herr Allemann everywhere in all this, and finally, when they had drunk a farewell bottle together in a tap-room, escorted him to the boat that was to take the soldiers to the ship. This politeness on the part of the host arose, of course, not so much from courtesy, as because he wanted to make sure that he was set free from his surety. His responsibility ended once Herr Allemann had actually gone on board.

The next day, Herr Allemann and the other soldiers reached in safety the ship to which they had been allotted. She was lying at anchor in the Texel. But good Heavens! What a sight she was to a German who in his Fatherland had never even seen a ship, let alone boarded a huge floating castle, such as are the ships of the East India Company. At the time when the soldiers get on board, the lower portholes are still open and one can see all aboard; it seems as though one has got into a roomy storehouse: everything is new to one and unexpected, and, since one is entirely ignorant of this new world, one stares about in wonder, and observes nothing with attention. Thus it was with Herr Allemann during the time that the stevedores were leaving the ship. Once they were gone there were shouts of "This way, soldiers! Soldiers! Away from there!" "Aan dat touw. Aan dat top taackel. Aan de chay-looper. Aan het spill. In de kuyt. Achter op. Aan het stuur-boord. Aan het back-boord. Om-laagh. In de constabels-caamer. Op de back," etc. What folly! The soldier has never in his life before seen a ship, and now he is expected straightway to understand and obey all these gibberish technical terms!

Meanwhile, the sailors also come on board, followed by the officers, those of superior rank coming last. In a few hours the ship is full of men and their chests; the men tumble over one another. The deck is covered with rope; there is no safe foothold anywhere. The soldiers are



forced to work and do not understand anything. You get a rope, or a strong, thick cable, thrust into your hands, and you have to haul on it with more than a hundred other men; what you are hauling you have no idea.

The two boatswains (upper and under), the boatswain's mates, the helmsmen, the gunner, and all the other deck officers of similar rank, are here, there and everywhere, giving orders, shouting, yelling, swearing and striking. Soldiers are shouted for although they are already at work. Four quartermasters, two corporals, two "Landspassaten," and the "Provost," each armed with a piece of rope 18 inches long, as thick as one's finger, and with its end boiled in tar, go among the soldiers; they hit out blindly, striking those who are whole-heartedly tackling their work as well as the shirkers. From time to time the deck officers search through every corner of the ship to see whether any man has hidden away to escape work. If they find one—well, he had better not be afraid of blows!

With the sailors it is quite different. They have made voyages before; they are acquainted with the work of navigation; they understand all the gibberish terms and ways of speech. They only have to be told what to do and they do it. The young sailors, too, are set to work they know, and they have as a rule already made one voyage as ship's-boys. As a result they already understand at least the more common sea-terms; they understand, too, that each thing,—each piece of rope, great or small, cable or tiny bit of cord,—has a name of its own.

The men long for evening, and it comes at last. All the men, except for a few who have to keep the first watch, are then allowed to go and sleep. They have supper first; it consists of bread, butter, cheese, and beer. After that they may sleep. But where is the weary soldier to find a resting place? Every place is full of chests, piled on top of, or leaning up against, one another. The soldiers, moreover, are everywhere dispossessed by the great, rough sailors. Some of the soldiers sit in corners; some between two chests; others lie on the chests; in such positions, exhausted as they are by unaccustomed work, they fall asleep. If only this gentle rest lasted the whole night! But it does not. After the lapse of one, two, or even occasionally three hours, a lighter comes alongside with water or wood, or else with pigs, sheep, or victuals. At once there is a shout of "Overall! Overall!" All hands spring up and hurry on deck; but no matter how promptly a man sets to work he is sure to get a couple of lashes on the back with the tarred end of a rope—such lashes that the weals swell up as thick

as your finger. Once the lighter is unloaded and her contents duly stowed away the crew is again allowed to go and sleep. But in about an hour there comes another lighter; the same thing happens over and over again.

Meanwhile, the next day is breaking, and with the day, work again begins. When the ship lies in port the first task is to clear up the ropes or to get the anchor cables in order. When a ship lies in a harbour on two anchors her prow is always to the wind. If the wind changes the ship turns with it, and the result is that the anchor cables get twisted together. If the wind changes several times during the twenty-four hours the cables may get anything from a half-twist to two complete twists. A half-twist does not matter; but if there is a complete twist—that is, if the one cable has made a complete turn round the other—then it has to be put right. This is a disagreeable and difficult task; it is one, too, that employs the whole crew. As soon as it is finished, if there are no more lighters to unload, the rest of the ship's work goes on. Everything is got into order.

When the men are engaged on any hard tasks, and especially on any in which it is necessary for them to move rhythmically together, a little chant is sung. To the new arrivals this chant sounds very strange, but it is most useful, especially when all the men have to pull together. Thus, for example, when the top sail is being hoisted, one of the boatswains sings:

“Au—o! set op.  
 Au—o! het op.  
 Au—o! hogher op.  
 Au—o! Rhee.  
 Au—o! Marsch Rhée.  
 Au—o! t' marsch seyl mee.  
 Au—o! Reys.  
 Au—o! behouwe reys.  
 Au—o! verley ons God.  
 Au—o! en alle n.ann.  
 Au—o! behalven Turcken.  
 Au—o! dat binnen Schurken.”  
 etc., etc.

Each hard task has its own special song; and while the chant sounds, I admit, rather repulsive,<sup>1</sup> it is really useful and lightens the work.

This sort of work—which is really suitable for convicts—goes on as long as the ships lie at anchor in the Texel, that is usually from 14 to 18 days. By that time the ships

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<sup>1</sup> Literally—“repulsively pleasant”—*hässlich anmuthig*.

are, as a rule, more or less in order. Then a couple of Commissioners come on board, muster the ship's complement, and read the roll in order to make sure that all men are present. When the Commissioners leave the ship the crew give them three cheers and wave their hats; the Commissioners duly return the compliment. Shortly afterwards the powder is brought on board, and the pilot who is to take the ship out of the harbour comes on and takes command. Then as soon as the wind is favourable—that is, E., S.E. or N.E.—whether it be day or night, the anchors are hoisted, the sails unfurled, the cannon fire an adieu, and the ship sets sail.

Up to this point the men have earned nothing; their pay has not yet begun. At the mouth of the Texel, however, lie three great casks bound with iron hoops and securely attached by iron chains to anchors sunk in the ground. Their use is to mark certain shoals which lie hidden under the water at that spot. As soon as the ship passes these casks, pay begins; and even if a ship should be forced by adverse winds to return and re-enter the Texel, it would make no difference. The pay would continue if once the third cask had been passed on the outward journey, although the ship had to wait a month in the Texel for a favourable wind.

As soon as the ship emerges from the Texel into the North Sea the crew say to one another: "Welkoom in de zee!" From this time forward their way of life is entirely changed. The whole crew is divided into two watches which are called the Prins and the Graaf Maurits Quartier respectively. This is as a reminder that once a Prince of Orange and a Graaf Maurits of Nassau were on a ship together and took command alternately.

On the first day of the voyage the men work until eight o'clock in the evening. Then the Provost comes up to a scaffolding on the mainmast, called the gallows, and strikes upon it with a stick three times.

Then, in a loud voice, he cries out:

"Hoort manne hoort—  
de een segh den andern het woord—  
van de Wacht all naer de Cooy—  
om daar te rusten mooy—  
die de Wacht niet enheeft die vertreck van hier—  
het is nou avond Prins Quartier—  
Prins Quartier heeft de eerste Wacht—  
Godt verley ons eene goede Wacht—  
eene goede nacht en eene behouve reys daar mée  
Luy je klok, en keer uw glass."

Thereupon the ship's bell is rung, the hour glass by the rudder is inverted, and half the crew—the Graaf Maurits Quartier—goes to rest.

At midnight, or about a quarter of an hour before, the Graaf Maurits Quartier is awakened and relieves the first watch, which then goes below. At a quarter to four o'clock, the "Quart-Singer," as he is called, has to chant a song, beginning "Hier seylen wy in Godes naame." He gets a glass of brandy for his pains; while he is singing, the Prins Quartier has to relieve the Graaf Maurits. When this has been done, and when the ship's bell has rung four o'clock, each of the crew receives a glass of brandy. At six o'clock an allowance of water is doled out to each man; at seven, morning prayers are held; breakfast comes directly after. This breakfast consists, six mornings a week, of peeled barley; on Sundays, however, there are baked prunes and rice.

From eight o'clock till mid-day Graaf Maurits Quartier is on duty; then comes dinner. This consists, on Sundays and Tuesdays, of salt beef, and on Thursdays of smoked pork. For vegetables, there are yellow or grey peas and white beans; on Sundays, however, there are big Prussian peas, called ortges. On the meat and pork days every man receives a mug of wine, the depth of the mug being quite as much as a Silesian quartierel.<sup>1</sup> From noon until six o'clock in the evening, Prins Quartier is on duty; evening prayers are held about five; and then the men have their evening meal, which consists of what has been left over from mid-day. From six o'clock until eight is called Platt-voet; during this period all the crew have to hold themselves in readiness, for it is the time when wind and weather are apt to undergo very sudden and dangerous changes. If, however, the weather is clear, and the moon is shining, the crew make merry a little during these two hours; some of them play various games, which generally end in blows; others pass their time with music, if their talents lie in that direction. At eight o'clock the Provost comes and goes through the same ceremony as on the first night, the Graaf Maurits Quartier this time having the first watch. Thus it goes on during the whole voyage.

If my description is to be complete I must mention that there is an arrangement by which the men eat and sleep together in groups of eight or nine. Each of these groups is called a "Backsvolk." Now, during mealtimes, some men have to be in readiness, in case some work may have to be

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<sup>1</sup> 5 Silesian els = 3 English yards, so a quartierel = 5½ inches.



done; hence it is arranged that two sailors and two soldiers of one Back are always on hand during meals; they have their meal when the rest are finished. This is called the "Kessel Quartier," and the Backs take it in turn, week by week, to keep it.

When everything about the ship is in working order, life on board is very different from what it is during the first few days in the Texel. Everything has its appointed time, and the officers, both superior and inferior, are more patient, and have more time both to direct the men in their work and to show them how to do it. Now and again, of course, the rope's end comes into play; but it must be said to the credit of the Dutch officers that they speedily show themselves well disposed towards any man—especially if he happens to be a German—who distinguishes himself from the common herd by good behaviour, docility, and eagerness to learn. Take my own case: I made the journey to the Cape as an "Adelborst," or soldier with ten gulden a month pay. Within a week of my arrival on board the Gunner took me to the Gunners' Room, where I helped him with his work, and from that time on I experienced no hardships whilst on board.

After this long, but necessary digression, I return once more to the biography of Herr Allemann, and bring him, safe and sound by the Grace of God, to the anchorage at the Cape of Good Hope. Up to this point the Lord had helped him.

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## CHAPTER IV.

**Herr Allemann is retained at the Cape of Good Hope.  
An account of what became of him during his first  
years there.**

Herr Allemann arrived at the time when Governor Adrian van der Stel was recalled to Holland and was succeeded by Governor van Assenburgh, a former Imperial General<sup>1</sup>. Herr Allemann was sent to the Castle as a common soldier. The government at the Cape has the privilege of taking, from every ship that comes from Holland, a few men for local service. Formerly, the Kampanjemeester and the Adjutant used to go on board the ships in order to pick out the sailors and soldiers they wanted. Since, however, they always used to choose the best and most respectable men, the ship-captains complained about it to the Council of Seventeen: to those, that is to say, who wield the supreme power of the Company in Holland. Since that time the Cape Government has only been allowed to take off the ship's books the names of men who desire to remain at the Cape. The captains, however, are no better off, for if the Adjutant wants men from a ship he singles out one of the troops on board her, and asks the man whether he desires to remain at the Cape or not. In either case, the man, in order to get his wish complied with, has to give the names of the best soldiers on his ship. The Adjutant notes these names down; the Secretary has the list got ready, and the Governor signs it. The Captain is then obliged to comply with the order and hand over the men. The Kampanjemeester proceeds in the same way with the sailors. Similarly, when the monthly muster of convalescents from

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<sup>1</sup> Mentzel evidently means van Assenburgh who succeeded van der Stel in 1708. This, however, must be a mistake. According to a will made jointly by Allemann and his wife in 1732 (Orphan Chamber Records; Testaments; Vol. 8, No. 17) he was then 38 years old. In 1708, therefore, he was 14 years old; that he could have reached the Cape in that year, after having served as an officer in the Prussian army, is therefore obviously impossible. Internal evidence seems to indicate that Allemann arrived about 1720. See page 47 note.

the hospital takes place, the best men are kept at the Cape, while the others are sent away on different ships. In this way they always have good, useful men at the Cape. When, however, they do get men who will not do good work, they send them away into the interior of the country to the Company's estates. There these good-for-nothings have to occupy themselves either with driving oxen and donkeys, or else with cutting wood, fishing, hay-making, and so forth.

Herr Allemann was selected in the way I have described by the Adjutant who boarded his ship. He was therefore retained at the Cape and was sent to the barracks in the Nassau Bastion. He was at once given an old uniform, and since he had no ready money, he had to let his monthly dienstgeld be stopped in order to pay for it. The meaning of this dienstgeld is as follows: those soldiers who have learnt a trade, by means of which they can earn something for themselves, are exempted from service. They continue to receive their monthly pay, ration allowance and bread; but in return for this privilege of exemption they have to pay nine gulden twelve stuivers a month. This is called dienstgeld. Now the total amount of dienstgeld is divided on the first day of every month among the non-exempted men who do their military service. The dienstgeld which each man receives depends, of course, upon the number of exempted men, but as a rule it amounts to about twenty-four or twenty-eight stuivers. A sufficient number of soldiers are always retained on service to enable each man to be free, for two nights out of three, from guard duty.<sup>1</sup>

As soon as Herr Allemann had been sent to the Castle he had to learn the Dutch system of military drill. As he had already studied the Prussian exercises, it was easy for him to grasp the Dutch method. He was, therefore, very soon released from drill and had to join the guard.

It may easily be imagined that a young man who has been for three, four, or even five months on the water, and has eaten, during that time, nothing but salted meat, smoked bacon, peas, beans, and peeled barley, heartily longs for fresh food, and that when he gets on land again he indulges in a grand feast, if he can get it. The appetite of such a man is extraordinary, and Cape mutton and vegetables

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<sup>1</sup> Elsewhere Mentzel says that though the soldier only had to go on guard one night out of three, he had often, in the two intervening days, to do various 'fatigues'—"Beiwachten"—such as cleaning the barracks, burying the dead, and standing sentry when the powder magazines were opened.

are besides so delicious that many who can afford it must make themselves positively ill through over-indulgence. Now Herr Allemann experienced no serious want so long as he had left, and was able to sell, the baggage which he had bought in Holland for the voyage, and which he no longer needed. But things became serious for him when he had sold not only his baggage but also even the very chest in which it had been packed. The proceeds were soon used up, and then he fell into real want, notwithstanding the fact that the Papen, as they are called,—that is, the men who have charge of the *kostgeld* and the *subsidiengeld*, and pay them out in their barracks;—willingly advance one or two months' pay. They do this because whereas they receive twenty-eight *stuivers* for each man they give in advance only twenty-four. This interest, however, is too heavy; and besides, if a man has taken a month's ration allowance and *subsidiengeld* in advance, what is he going to live on in the following month?

I have already mentioned that the Governor has three huntsmen in his service.<sup>1</sup> Each of these men has to supply the Governor's kitchen with a certain quantity of game every week. The quantity fixed is not large; but, since there is not much edible game in the locality, it is nevertheless difficult to get. Now shortly after Herr Allemann's arrival at the Cape one of these huntsmen left; so the Governor sent round a Corporal from the main guard,—one of the "*Rapportgangers*," as they are called, to inquire at all the barracks whether a huntsman was to be found among the soldiers. Herr Allemann was a lover of the chase—probably he had often gone out hunting when he was an officer—and he believed, therefore, that he could fill the post. He thought that he would better his situation, so he gave himself out to be a huntsman, and accepted the Governor's offer. His old uniform was bought by the sergeant of his company, and with the money which he obtained for this and for his bed, he procured a green coat. A musket, together with powder and shot, was given to him, so there he was, transformed into a huntsman. So long as he supplied a small quantity of game every week to the Governor's kitchen he could roam about the whole country as he liked.

But alas! To obtain game was no easy task. There are no hunting dogs at the Cape, and there are no hares to hunt, except for little mountain hares with red tails like a squirrel. Moreover, you will see a hundred crows and as

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<sup>1</sup> These were among his twelve "free workmen."



many birds of prey before you will see one bird of an edible variety. The game, however, had to be delivered, and to get it he had to resort, at first, to the two other huntsmen, from whom he bought several head. Several times, moreover, he gave them a good drinking bout in order to induce them to tell him of the places where most game was to be found. The experienced huntsmen, however, were sly dogs and would not let themselves be trapped into giving the information. Herr Allemann was obliged, therefore, to buy from them from time to time such game as they shot over and above the prescribed quantity. This was unsatisfactory, but he had nevertheless improved his position, since he no longer had to endure real hunger. Spontaneous hospitality is universal throughout the whole of the open country at the Cape, and, apart from that, every inhabitant is obliged to give free accommodation to a travelling servant of the Company. This applies especially to the Governor's huntsmen. Every farmer willingly entertains such travellers as well as his circumstances will allow, since a traveller always brings news. As time passed, Herr Allemann's pleasing manners won for him great affection among the Africander farmers. They would often keep him two or three days on their farms and sometimes would go out hunting with him and help him to shoot the game he needed. Then occasionally they used to have it delivered for him by their own slaves to the Governor's kitchen.

I have now come to the point in my narrative where I must state a certain incident which seems to be but a trifle, but which in fact exercised, later on, a tremendous influence upon Herr Allemann's career. My hero, in his capacity as huntsman, came one day about noon to the estate of a Boer called Meijboom.<sup>1</sup> The reader must not imagine that the Cape Boers are similar to the Baueren<sup>2</sup> of Germany. Many of the Boers possess two hundred or three hundred oxen, one hundred, one hundred-and-fifty or more cows, two thousand to three thousand sheep, forty or fifty horses, twenty, thirty or more bond slaves, and a large estate. Many an African Boer, therefore, would think twice about changing places with a German nobleman. Heer Meijboom was a Boer of this sort and occupied the kind of position I have described. Herr Allemann entered his house, greeted those present, and begged a kind reception. He

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<sup>1</sup> It appears from Orphan Chamber Records, Inventories, Vol. VI., No. 25, that Meijboom lived on a farm called "De Platte Kloof," in the Tjgerberg district.

<sup>2</sup> *i.e.* peasants.

was warmly welcomed; the table was soon laid, and before long a plentiful, well prepared dinner was placed upon it. They ate and drank; after dinner, tea was brought in, as is usual at the Cape; they smoked and talked, and then, towards evening, had another meal. Herr Allemann spent the night with his kind and courteous host. He was a widower with an only son, who was blind, and three daughters. The son had become blind when five years old,<sup>1</sup> owing to small-pox; this disease ravages the Cape to an extraordinary extent about every fifty years. Heer Meijboom had tried everything to restore his son's sight; he had even sent him to Holland to an operating surgeon; but all was in vain. The father would willingly have spent thousands of gulden could he have helped his son, for he was very rich. He was a baker by trade and had formerly baked and sold bread at the Cape. Then all of a sudden he had come into an extraordinary fortune; it was surmised that he had perhaps plundered something valuable from a wreck. Of his three daughters, the eldest was married to Kampanjemeester Valck; Abbetje, the second, looking after the housekeeping and the dairy; while the third, Gertrude, was still a child.

Herr Allemann, as I have said, stayed with this family, and everything went very well, with one exception. When it was bed-time, old Meijboom wanted a bed in one of his rooms assigned to the guest, but Mistress Abbetje, who used to carry her head very high, would not agree to this. She ordered a slave girl to prepare a couch for Herr Allemann in the kitchen, on the ground that he was only a common soldier. Now it is true that Dutch kitchens are far cleaner than German ones; but it is usual at the Cape for a couple of slave girls to bring their beds into the kitchen towards night-time, sleep there, and clear out again early in the morning. Mistress Abbetje, therefore, might have had enough regard for a servant of the Company, and enough respect for custom, to have given Herr Allemann a room. But she did not, and he had to sleep in the kitchen. The next morning, when he had drunk his coffee and had breakfasted, he took his leave, returned thanks for the hospitality he had received, and went away feeling rather displeased with Mistress Abbetje. But more of this anon.

One day, not long after this incident, Herr Allemann was

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<sup>1</sup> From Mrs. Meijboom's *Request* it appears that he only became blind in 1721, and was sent to Holland in 1723 to be treated. This was after his father's death. (See Res., February 23, 1723, Vol. C., 16, and Requesten, Vol. 602, No. 1.)

out hunting, and by noon had not had a single shot; indeed he had not even seen any edible game. Being very weary, therefore, he lay down in the shade under some bushes near a road. His musket lay close by his hand, and after he had lighted his pipe he took a Bible, which accompanied him everywhere, out of his pocket and began to read. Suddenly a shot rang out not far from him. He snatched up his musket, sprang to his feet, and shot a rhebok which ran by close in front of him.

An ensign<sup>1</sup> of the Cape garrison, Rhenius by name, had been sent with a commando of about forty soldiers, together with some servants and Bastard-Hottentots, to the Namaqua-Hottentots, in order to buy from them elephant tusks, sheep and oxen. He was just returning from his expedition,<sup>2</sup> and had shot at the rhebok, but had missed. He rode up to Herr Allemann and asked who he was. Herr Allemann replied that he was a soldier from the Castle and was at that time serving as one of the Governor's huntsmen. The Ensign inquired further—as to his name, his birthplace, and his position in general—then looked him over from head to foot and finally said: "My dear Allemann, you should be anything in the world rather than this sort of professional huntsman. Leave this business to someone else; come back to the Castle, and I will look after you." Herr Allemann, who had already become very tired of the kind of existence he was leading, promised to do as the Ensign suggested. He kept his word and was again sent to the Castle—to the Bastion Katzenellenbogen. He duly called upon Ensign Rhenius.

During the time that Herr Allemann had been acting as a huntsman new uniforms had already been given out. These are not paid for in cash; their value is deducted from the soldiers' pay.<sup>3</sup> When a soldier leaves, the sergeant of the company takes over his uniform, pays him for it according to the condition it is in, and later on sells it again to some newcomer, often at an excessive profit. Herr Allemann, on his return to the Castle, was therefore obliged, for the second time, to buy an old uniform from the sergeant and to pay cash for it, little by little, out of his dienstgeld. He also had to buy a bed, and to promise to

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<sup>1</sup> Rhenius was made Ensign on January 9th, 1720 (Res. of that date, Vol. C. 13).

<sup>2</sup> This expedition probably took place in September, 1721 (see Res., May, 1721, Vol. C. 15).

<sup>3</sup> *i.e.* It was entered to his debit account in the books. This the soldier did not feel nearly so much as he did having to pay for a uniform out of his monthly cash allowance.

pay for it at the next Goede-maande. He no longer had his travelling outfit to sell; as a huntsman he had earned nothing and had saved still less. Formerly, when he had been in the Nassau Bastion, he had often had to go without meat; but now, in the Katzenellenbogen Bastion, he knew many days of Jewish fasting, on which he ate nothing at all. Living among the country people at the Cape, he had grown accustomed to having three meals a day with meat and wine, not to mention tea and coffee between whiles. Now, his best meals consisted of a piece of ration bread and a bowl of tea, two of which may be obtained from the garrison kitchen for a stuiver. You may easily imagine that this state of poverty filled Herr Allemann with exceedingly sad thoughts; especially, since he could not imagine why Ensign Rhenius had so completely forgotten him, and why he made not the slightest effort to fulfil his promise.

One day about this time, Herr Allemann, empty and fasting, had to go on guard duty. He had to stand as sentry on the Bastion Leerdam, from 12 noon till 2 o'clock in all the burning heat of mid-day. He grew so faint and dizzy with hunger that he felt utterly tired and weary of life. Suddenly he formed the rash resolve of bringing his misfortunes to an end. He took a sharp cartridge (every soldier carries twelve of these with him) out of his pouch, opened it, shook powder on the pan of his musket, and put the cartridge in the barrel; then he drew out the ramrod in order to fix the charge in position.

By great good fortune it happened that two soldiers approached from the Oranje Bastion, and were on the point of crossing Leerdam in order to reach Buuren. Herr Allemann had not noticed them, and they realised what he was about. They rushed up to him and snatched his musket out of his hands. Herr Allemann recollected himself; he entreated them, with many protestations that he would do nothing wrong, to give him back his musket; but it was too late. For one thing, the soldiers did not trust him; besides, they had disarmed a sentry and might very probably be punished for doing so, if anyone had seen them, unless they could give a good reason for their action.

The Bastions Leerdam and Oranje lie on the land side of the Castle. They are built higher than the others, and are so arranged that in case of an attack from the sea the guns can be turned and fired over the other three Bastions; consequently they contain no barracks or other buildings, and Leerdam is the only one which can be overlooked from the main guard-house. The sentry who stood under arms



in front of the guard-house perceived that two soldiers had disarmed the sentry on Leerdam; he reported the fact to the Sergeant of the guard, and a moment later one of the soldiers in question shouted out to him. The Sergeant sent the Corporal and two men to see what was happening; one of the men was posted on Leerdam in place of Herr Allemann, and the latter was brought in under arrest. The Sergeant, when he had been informed of the facts, could not but immediately send a messenger to report the matter to the Officer of the guard, who was dining with the Governor, as well as to the Captain and to the Governor himself. In a moment the news had been shouted throughout the Castle: "Allemann had tried to shoot himself when on guard." This cry came to the ears of Ensign Rhenius; he started violently, and bethought himself of the words of the chief butler to King Pharaoh: "I do remember my faults this day."<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Genesis C. 41, v. 9.

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## CHAPTER V.

### The Beginning of Herr Allemann's Advancement.

Ensign Rhenius was the first to hasten to the guard-house. He spoke to Herr Allemann, who confessed that for three days he had had nothing to eat and that he had been ashamed to acknowledge the fact to anyone. His terrible hunger, together with the extraordinary heat of noon, had so affected him that for a dreadful moment it had not seemed to him worth while to live. He did not attempt to deny that had his two comrades not disarmed him he would have killed himself. Ensign Rhenius gave him a ducat, and at the same time warned him that, since his stomach was entirely empty, he must not suddenly overload it but must take food by degrees. The Ensign promised, moreover, to get him released at once and to see to it that very day that his position was improved. The Sergeant of the guard was just having tea, so he gave some, and a piece of white bread besides, to Herr Allemann; then they sent to the garrison cook for something more substantial and also fetched some wine. In this way Herr Allemann was gradually restored to strength.

Ensign Rhenius, meanwhile, went straight to the Captain,<sup>1</sup> van den Berg, and related to him the circumstances which had brought Herr Allemann to such a pass. He begged the Captain to release Herr Allemann, and also to promise him, that very day, the position of Corporal at the Schuur. The Schuur is on one of the Company's estates; a large number of waggons and teams of oxen are kept there. The Corporal who was then at the Schuur wished to return to Holland by the next homeward-bound fleet. The Captain immediately consented to give Herr Allemann this post, provided that the Governor's approval were obtained. The Ensign thereupon betook himself to Governor van Assenburgh<sup>2</sup> and informed him of the project. The Governor, who was a very kind-hearted man, agreed without

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<sup>1</sup> Captain Bergh (or van den Berg) had retired long before this.

<sup>2</sup> Probably Pasques de Chavonnes.

further ceremony to the Ensign's plan and ordered Herr Allemann's release. At the next meeting of the Council of Policy he took care that the appointment of Herr Allemann as Corporal was confirmed.

From this time forward Herr Allemann's pay was fourteen gulden a month, together with eighty-four stuivers kostgeld. Moreover, since he no longer required the subsidiengeld, that two gulden monthly ceased to be deducted from his pay, and he never again had a new uniform debited to his account. As a result, his debt for his Transportbrief was quite soon paid off. Nevertheless, this first small promotion would not greatly have improved his position had it not been that various little perquisites came his way now he was a corporal. Thus, for example, Ensign Rhenius, who was at that time Commissarius of several similar country posts, advanced to him, as soon as he was appointed corporal, some money with which to buy rolls of tobacco and pipes. These he could retail to the men of whom he was in charge; on these little transactions the profit is always  $33\frac{1}{2}$  per cent., and the goods are in great demand. Moreover, that the men belonging to the post might not be inclined to leave it and commit excesses elsewhere, Herr Allemann was permitted to obtain from the wine-farmers, at his own discretion, wine in whole or half-measuresful, and to retail it by the flask or quart. In this way, also, he was able to make a certain amount of profit, the only drawback being that he had to give credit for the wine until the men received their pay in the Goede-maande. Furthermore, he had under him at the post about twenty-four men for whom he received bread every week, and, every month, kostgeld and subsidiengeld. These last each amounted to twenty-eight stuivers a month for each man, and on every twenty-eight stuivers that Herr Allemann paid out he received a half-stuiver commission. Moreover, when he received the Goede-maande for his subordinates, twelve stuivers were due to him from every man.<sup>1</sup> Herr Allemann could always count upon forty gulden a year from these sources of income.

The sergeant at the Schuur, in return for a small payment, admitted Herr Allemann to his own table, or, rather, they shared their expenses equally. Herr Allemann had now such an income that he could dress decently and always look

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<sup>1</sup> The half-stuiver commission was evidently not deducted from the twenty-eight stuivers, since the text says, " $\frac{1}{2}$  stüber bliebe ihm über die 28 festgesetzten Stüber übrig"; with regard to the commission on the Goede-maande the wording is not so explicit: "12 stüber gebührten ihm von jedem Mann."

smart. He performed his duties as corporal, moreover, to the satisfaction of his superiors, and especially to that of the Commissarius, Ensign—now Lieutenant—Rhenius. Under the rule of the former corporal the men at the post had become rather wild and had lived in a disorderly sort of way, since he, for the sake of his own profit, had encouraged them to increase their wine debts. These men, however, soon realised that their new superior lived very soberly himself, never became drunk, and could not endure others to be so, and when they found that he would not let them have more wine than was good for them, and that he never considered his own profit in the matter, they soon followed his lead, and began, through his example, to husband their *kostgeld*, *subsidiengeld* and other little resources, so that they were able to live far better and more comfortably than before. They had various small sources of income besides their pay, for, whenever men from the Schuur go to the Cape, which is usually every other day, they take with them a sack of chopped up firewood, for which they get six *stuivers*. This is not expressly permitted, but it is winked at.

After about a year-and-a-half the sergeant of the post went to Europe and Herr Allemann was promoted to his place. His pay now amounted to twenty gulden a month, in addition to a *kostgeld* of 168 *stuivers* clear. From this, nothing was deducted. Moreover, he was allowed to have sheep killed and to sell the meat to all the Company's servants on his own post and in the surrounding ones, which were under his command. In this way he made a very considerable sum of money. A fat sheep at the Cape weighs fifty to seventy lbs., and is worth a ducat (or 78 *stuivers*.) This is the price, however, only when flocks of sheep are sold, and not when the purchaser picks out good single sheep. Mutton costs two, and fat three *stuivers* a lb. The head and pluck are sold to the slaves very cheaply, while the rest is given to the dogs. The tawers and shoemakers, moreover, buy the skins, but only at the Company's slaughter-houses, where fifty, sixty or one hundred sheep are slaughtered at a single time. The skins are handed over to them while still wet, and they commonly pay a half-*stuiver* each for them. (The wool on the skins is useless; indeed it is rather hair than wool.) When the skins are dressed with oil, however, the tawers sell them for not less than half-a-ducate, or thirty-nine *stuivers* a pair.

Herr Allemann, who was now entitled "Opper-baas van de Schuur," had a comfortable house and a very fine



kitchen-garden. He was able to make quite a lot out of it by selling what he did not himself require. Moreover, he had an opportunity of speaking to Governor van Assenburgh himself, at least once every month,—when the Governor looked over his report—and occasionally oftener. The Governor was very favourable to Herr Allemann; assured him, from time to time, of his goodwill, and promised to see that he received further advancement. For this Herr Allemann, being now so comfortably situated, could afford to wait very contentedly. His Transportbrief and other debts were now paid off; while his pay, together with his other sources of income, was amply sufficient to keep him. His social position, moreover, was very good. The sergeant of a country post at the Cape is not to be compared with a military sergeant in Germany. I have already shown that the sergeants in the garrison control the companies; the sergeant of one or more country posts is still more important; he is looked upon as a little nobleman and respected accordingly. Herr Allemann, that he might make himself and his rank respected, did not fail to assert himself both in dress and in bearing. He was a welcome guest in the best society at the Cape and everywhere showed himself to be a polite and gallant gentleman.

Just at this time there died the rich farmer Meijboom,<sup>1</sup> of whom I have already spoken. The estate passed, in accordance with his will, to his blind son, but it was not possible for a blind man to superintend so large a farm. Young Meijboom did indeed borrow one of the Company's soldiers, who worked for him, nominally as a servant, but really as manager of the farm, and overseer of the slaves; but when the owner himself is not the chief overseer, things do not generally go as they should. Meijboom was advised, therefore, to marry; and he himself realised that this was necessary. There was no need to trouble about wealth or beauty, since of the first Meijboom himself had more than enough; while as to the second—he could not rhapsodise over the face of a woman, nor criticise her looks! The great difficulty, however, was to find anyone who was at once a good manager and willing to marry a blind man. In the end, however, Meijboom himself helped to overcome the whole difficulty.<sup>2</sup> He remembered a little

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<sup>1</sup> Meijboom died in 1721 (Orphan Chamber Records; Testaments; Vol. IV, No. 92); hence it would appear that Allemann must have arrived at the Cape in 1719 or 1720.

<sup>2</sup> Floris did not marry until September 28, 1732 (see de Villiers, *Geslacht Register*).

girl, with whom he had gone to school before his blindness, when he was four or five years old. He felt that he would prefer her to anyone else; she was still unmarried, and his sisters had nothing against her except that her position was lowly. The marriage was therefore proposed to her, and there was little difficulty in persuading her to accept a man who, to offset his blindness, was rich, tall, well-made, sensible, and very affectionate. The marriage accordingly took place and the pair lived very happily together. The young wife loved her husband and loyally undertook the management of the farm.

Meanwhile, Meijboom's two unmarried sisters, who up till this time had lived with their brother, would now no longer remain with him to be, in a measure at least, dependent upon a sister-in-law. They left him accordingly and went to the Cape, where they lived with their eldest sister, the wife of Kampanjemeester Valck. They gave their sister a sum sufficient to pay for their board, and lived, according to the standard at the Cape, in quite splendid style. They were able to do so, for each of the sisters had inherited from their father a capital of eighty-thousand Cape gulden (16 stuivers to the gulden), and Mistress Abbetje, the elder of the two unmarried ones, had, in addition, various small presents that her parents had given her: her own herd of cattle, which she had sold to her brother, and a little nest-egg of about ten-thousand Cape gulden that she had saved. The younger girl had just the same amount of original capital, but she had not saved nearly so much, and she had also a far smaller herd. The herd, however, she left with her brother until her marriage took place. She married<sup>1</sup> a prominent burgher and wine-farmer, Kloppenburg by name, and brought him her herd, which by that time had greatly increased.

I daresay that my readers will be interested to hear how it is that young girls at the Cape often come by quite considerable herds of cattle. As soon as a daughter is born to a well-to-do farmer there, he gives her a young cow and a ewe lamb. These are carefully marked, and all their subsequent calves and lambs are marked in the same way, and belong to the daughter. It also happens very often, since at the Cape all horses, oxen and cows have their distinguishing names, that the young cow is given the same Christian name as the young daughter; Marie for instance, or Catharine or Elizabeth. All the animals which are descended from the original cow and lamb, and especially all that are female, are carefully

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<sup>1</sup> In June, 1732 (Geslacht Register).

saved; and if you consider how a herd commonly increases, in the course of eighteen or twenty years, you will understand how it is that a girl who has been fortunate with her cattle is able, when she marries, to bring to her husband a very respectable herd.

On the other hand, however, cows at the Cape do not give milk and are not so profitable as in this country. The cattle are a sort of buffalo, and the cows will give no milk unless the calf sucks at one side of the udder while the milker milks at the other. If the calf is removed, or if it dies through some accident—it rarely happens there that a calf is slaughtered—then, do what you will, not another drop of milk will the cow give. It is not that she holds her breath, and so for a time prevents the milk from flowing; she simply stands and feeds by the milker's side and will not give milk. The Hottentots alone have a way of managing these cows, and anyone who likes can try their method; it will be found effective. If a calf has been killed—by a lion, for instance, or a tiger or a hyena—the Hottentot, in order still to have milk, takes a piece of bamboo cane about half-a-yard long and an inch thick, sticks it into the cow at the back and blows through it into her body. The cow thereupon bends like a fiddle bow and the milk flows itself, more than when milking is done in the ordinary way, into the calabash which is held in readiness. The Hottentots use this method only under the circumstances I have described; it is not used as long as the calf is available. Some of my readers may doubt the truth of my statements; some years ago, indeed, a learned scholar vigorously disputed them, maintaining that it would be utterly unnatural to treat a cow in such a way. Those who do not believe me do not know, perhaps, that similar methods often have to be employed in the case of both cows and horses when they are ill. At all events, the Hottentot does many other things which are far more unnatural and unpleasant.

I must, however, end this digression and return to the biography of my hero. During the time that the two Miss Meijbooms were staying at the Cape with their sister and the Kampanjemeester, Herr Allemann was living at the Schuur, about a mile<sup>1</sup> away. He frequently had occasion to speak to the Kampanjemeester about the men under his charge, some of whom were sailors; on occasion, even, he had to visit him at his house. Mistress Abbetje, whenever she saw Herr Allemann, remembered how she had once

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<sup>1</sup> The German "meile" is equal to nearly five English miles.

made him sleep in the kitchen, and was much ashamed. She avoided his company as much as she could without being rude. Herr Allemann noticed this, but he was far above such trifles; he behaved in his usual manner and always treated her very courteously.

It was while he was in charge of the Schuur that Herr Allemann suddenly lost, in a most melancholy manner, his chief patron, Governor van Assenburgh.<sup>1</sup> The Governor, together with the Company's Keldermeester and another official, went one day for a ride after dinner. They reached the world-famed "Wijnberg," which is distant about three hours from the Cape, and which, under the name of Constantia, supplies the popular, and really good, delicate Cape wine. At this place the three gentlemen drank a bottle of wine—a bottle about the size of a champagne bottle—and hardly had they emptied it when they all three fell down dead. A messenger galloped in to the Castle with the sad news; doctors galloped out with all speed to try every possible remedy; but all was in vain. The three gentlemen were dead and remained dead. No one could call the owner of the garden to account for what had happened, for the Keldermeester himself had taken the wine with him out of the Company's cellar. They were obliged to conclude, therefore, that a poisonous insect had got into the bottle before it was filled, and had ejected its poison in it.

Mijnheer de Tweede (the Vice-Governor), that is Heer Johann de la Fontaine, took over the Government for the time being. The news of the deaths was sent to Holland, first by an English ship which had arrived just at that time, and soon afterwards by the first Dutch East India return fleet. They then waited for the arrival of a new Governor.

Mijnheer de Tweede, or de Heer Gesagshebber, as he was called when he was Acting Governor, had always been well-disposed towards Herr Allemann, and he remained so, although during his interim government—the beginning of the trouble, indeed, had been rather before—a charge was brought against Herr Allemann, who had to answer for himself. The owner of the "Wijnberg" at Constantia, of which I have already spoken, had round his vineyards a wall that was more than the height of a man. Now the Company's waggons that were kept at the Schuur, had to pass by his house and vineyards when they went into the

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<sup>1</sup> What follows is an account of the death of van Assenburgh, in 1711. Pasques de Chavonnes died in 1724 and was succeeded as interim Governor by J. de la Fontaine.



Cape with fire-wood. This journey was always made during the night, towards dawn, so that during the day the oxen could graze on the veld. (From year's end to year's end the oxen get no food but what they graze in this way from the veld and small bush.) Now the owner of the "Wijnberg," Abraham Klein by name, kept for safety two very big dogs, and these beasts kept such good watch, and were so bold, that when they heard the Company's waggons going by they would run at the wall, spring over, and fall upon the oxen and their drivers. The result was that the oxen would be terrified and spring to one side, breaking the waggon pole or else overturning the laden waggons and damaging the racks and brakes. On several occasions the drivers tried to beat off the dogs with their long whips—eight or nine yards long including the handle—but the dogs were too quick for them and only became more savage. Herr Allemann was informed of these attacks, and once took occasion to ride up to the house and ask the owner to chain up the dogs, or at any rate prevent them in some way from jumping over the wall. Klein, however, did not do so, and the dogs continued again and again to jump over and attack the men and oxen.

Herr Allemann again rode up to the house when he was passing that way and warned Klein that if his dogs once again jumped over the wall and attacked the waggons he would shoot them. Klein only laughed at this and said he thought Herr Allemann had better let it alone. Herr Allemann, however, would not treat it as a joke; the next time wood had to be delivered at the Cape he put two loaded pistols in his saddle holsters and he, instead of the Corporal, rode beside the waggon. The two dogs jumped over the wall and attacked his horse first, as it was nearest to them, so he did not hesitate to use the pistols which he held ready. He shot both dogs dead. Hardly had he reached the Castle and reported the affair to Lieutenant Rhenius, when Klein arrived and went straightway to Heer de la Fontaine to complain. De Heer Gesagshebber had Herr Allemann summoned and addressed him in good Dutch as follows:

"What has happened, Sergeant Allemann? Who has given you permission to ride carrying pistols? Don't you know that that is an honour which pertains only to the Governor, or, in default of him, to me? Why have you shot Klein's two dogs?"

"This is what has happened, Sir," replied Herr Allemann. "It is true, of course, that the right to carry pistols belongs only to a Governor or to a Heer

Gesagshebber. But as things actually are, with escaped slaves making the roads unsafe, no one who is obliged, as I am, to travel at night, can be blamed if in self-defence he carries pistols. As for the dogs which I shot, they used to jump over the wall and attack the drivers and the oxen whenever the waggons went past. Then the oxen would get frightened and plunge, with the result that many waggon-poles have been broken and many waggons overturned, their racks and brakes being ruined. You know, Sir, how scarce and expensive waggon-wood is here, and if men and oxen are injured by the dogs the loss is the Company's, while it is I who have to answer for it. I first asked Klein to prevent these attacks, and a second time I warned him, threatening to shoot the dogs, but he only laughed at me. Therefore, in the interests of my men, and of the oxen and waggons, I did shoot the dogs."

"You did quite right," said de Heer Gesagshebber, and there the matter ended.

The incident is seemingly of little importance, and scarcely worth relating. In fact, however, it exercised a great influence upon Herr Allemann's career, since it was through it that Herr Allemann became better known to de Heer Gesagshebber. Now the latter greatly desired to derive some profit from his brief term of office; he had certain plans in mind, and he knew that Herr Allemann would be able in many ways to help him with them. First of all, therefore, he sounded Herr Allemann by means of a trifling commission. He wanted very much to have enough good red-wood<sup>1</sup> to make a dozen chairs—this is the best wood at the Cape, hard, solid and beautifully coloured—but, he added, he did not want anyone to know about it, since it would at once excite comment. Herr Allemann promised to bring him the wood without anyone finding out about it. He was as good as his word; he had the wood felled that was wanted, and in fact twice as much as was wanted; then he had the logs cut in half, taken by night to a safe spot in the neighbourhood of the Castle, and off-loaded. He then told de Heer Gesagshebber that the wood was ready; so he had it fetched by his slaves the next night without anyone observing it. This sort of commission gradually came Herr Allemann's way more and more frequently; and since he was always found to be willing and discreet, he became the confidant of de Heer Gesagshebber, and occasionally shared his profits.

After the lapse of a year, however, the East India Company found another Governor for the Cape and Heer

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<sup>1</sup> "Rotherlenholz" = red-wood.

de la Fontaine therefore became once more Mijnheer de Tweede. The new Governor was called Noot,<sup>1</sup> and he brought much "Noth"<sup>2</sup> with him to the Cape; but in the end, as you will see later on, he plunged himself into such agony of soul as may God in His mercy preserve us from! He was treacherous, gloomy, insolent, coarse and brutal. He was obliged at times to adopt a friendly manner, but it was dissimulation, and the more friendly his bearing seemed the less was he to be trusted. In addition, he was envious and greedy to the point of baseness.

As soon as the ship which brought him to the Cape had cast anchor he sent for the Chief Surgeon on board, and when the latter came to his cabin: "Spread a plaster on black taffeta and put it on my right eye," said the Governor.

"I did not know, Sir," replied the Surgeon, "that there was anything the matter with your eye; but at all events, will you please let me find out what is wrong, that I may prepare a suitable plaster."

"Shut your mouth!" said the Governor, "and put the plaster on me!"

The Surgeon accordingly made a harmless plaster and put it on the Governor's right eye. The Governor went ashore wearing the plaster. Everyone thought that he had only **one eye** and had lost the other in some war. After three days the Governor sent for the Surgeon and told him to take the plaster off the right eye and to put it on the left. During this time the Governor was behaving to everyone in a very friendly, affable and courteous manner. But after another three days he again sent for the Surgeon and had the plaster taken off altogether. Then he walked to the window and said: "Now that is all right; now I can see very well!" In fact, from that moment onward he showed by his behaviour that he saw more—that he desired and tried to see more—than was pleasant for many an honest man.

It was towards Heer de la Fontaine in particular that he directed his secretly-malignant regard.<sup>3</sup> Flatterers and traducers must by their slanders have made the new Governor hate his predecessor. This sort of thing usually

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<sup>1</sup> Van Noodt arrived at the Cape in 1727. The usual modern spelling of the Governor's name has been adopted in the notes.

<sup>2</sup> Noth=trouble.

<sup>3</sup> According to Theal, van Noodt tried so hard to injure the good name of de la Fontaine that the latter tendered his resignation, but the Directors refused to accept it and increased his salary. (Archives, Vol. C.21.)

happens when such governmental changes take place. The result was that Governor van Noot attacked Heer de la Fontaine with all his might, and left no stone unturned that he might convict him of some fraud. He privately discovered that Herr Allemann had been the confidant of de Heer Gesagshebber, who had therefore had an excellent opportunity of procuring, through him, various perquisites from the Company's estates. Herr Allemann was therefore sent for and the Governor tried at first to bribe him, by many promises, to give information which would incriminate Heer de la Fontaine. When this produced no result, the Governor tried to force him by threats to inform. All, however, was in vain. Herr Allemann did not merely refuse to confess anything. He knew nothing to the discredit of Heer de la Fontaine, so he began to speak in his defence, as emphatically and as convincingly as he could. This angered the Governor, who exclaimed, with a haughty expression and in a harsh voice: "Fellow! How dare you even speak to me, let alone speak in such a fashion!" "Sir," replied Herr Allemann, "you were pleased to ask me questions; I am, therefore, obliged to answer. Moreover, I dare to stand before God and address Him in my prayers, so why should I not dare to speak to you and answer the questions which you are pleased to ask me?"

The Governor strode to the window and shouted: "A man from the guard!" A Lance-Corporal, or "Rapport-ganger" at once came running in answer to the summons. The Governor ordered him to take Herr Allemann under arrest to the guard-house and to put him in the soldiers' common guard-room; then to go to the Secretary and get an order made out for Herr Allemann to be sent by the first ship to Batavia, as a common sailor. Good Heavens! What a thunder-clap was this in the ears of a decent, civilized man! To have to live from that time forward among godless sailors, the lowest race of men, and to have to do work which he did not know how to do, and which for him would be attended by more than usual danger (for he would not have been able to hold on securely while climbing the shrouds owing to an old wound in his right hand). It was terrible! All the servants of the Company, all the burghers, the ladies themselves, even Mistress Abbetje Meijboom, exclaimed over Herr Allemann's fate. Mistress Abbetje, indeed, who was still distressed by the recollection of how she had once treated Herr Allemann, had to be bled in order to avert an illness which her horror at his fate had brought upon her.



No one dared to speak to Herr Allemann; no one sent him anything to eat; he had to be content with the poor food provided by the garrison kitchen. It was fortunate for him that the Eastward-bound ship that was lying in the Bay had already had her books made up and her full complement mustered. Had it not been for this, he would have had to leave straight away. As it was, he had a little time in which to dispose of the effects he had bought and to put his other affairs in order. All that went on in the guard-house could be seen by the Governor from his room; so it was only at night that Herr Allemann could do anything. He was then kept informed, through the sergeant of the guard, of all that was going to be done on his behalf. The chief officials sent word that they would recommend the Captain of the ship by which he would probably be sent to let him do no work on the voyage and to treat him as a sergeant. (A sergeant on board ship is called Commander of the Soldiers). In addition, these gentlemen intended so emphatically to recommend him to the Government of Batavia, and especially to the Major-General and to certain of the India Councillors, that he would soon be promoted to a higher post.

Herr Allemann never lacked courage and resolution. Like a true Christian, he always used to think to himself "God's Will be Done." He had his head screwed on the right way, as the saying goes; and if it comes to that, under his third button-hole there beat a heart full of rectitude. While he was under arrest his happiest hours were from ten o'clock in the evening until midnight: then the sergeants of the guard would sit beside him in the shadows under the Castle Gate. They used to smoke their pipes and drink a bottle of wine with him; they had always, besides, some dish prepared for him, and they used to let him enjoy it at this time since they did not dare to do so during the day. In this fashion about a week passed; then, quite suddenly and unexpectedly, the whole scene changed.

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## CHAPTER VI.

**Herr Allemann is suddenly and unexpectedly extricated from his unfortunate position.**

Mijnheer van Noot, on his appointment as Governor of the Cape of Good Hope, had made up his mind that, shortly after his arrival at the Cape, he would travel over and survey the whole country, as far as it is inhabited by Europeans. With this end in view he had bought a fine, large, roomy tent. It had a pavilion and was shaped rather like those which our generals take with them in the field. This tent the Governor brought with him to the Cape; it was landed with the rest of his possessions. While he had been in Holland he had never been able to have it put up so that he could see it. One day, therefore, it occurred to him to have it put up near the gate, between the Half-Maan and the Castle, and to let it stand there for a few days to air. He gave orders accordingly for the tent to be carried to this spot, and then went there himself, accompanied by Lieutenant Rhenius, to look on while it was put up. Then, however, a difficulty arose—who was to put it up? The sailors had never in their lives before seen anything like it; while, of the soldiers at the Cape, none had ever been in the field or handled such a tent. In vain did the sailors and their quartiermeester strive for hours to get all the necessary apparatus into order. The Governor called upon all the devils in hell, but did not succeed in evoking one who would come and put that tent up.

Then Lieutenant Rhenius stole quietly away behind the Governor; he went to the soldiers' guard-room, beckoned Herr Allemann and hurriedly asked him whether he knew how to put up a tent of that sort, with a pavilion. "Oh, yes!" was the reply.

Lieutenant Rhenius then returned to the Governor; went close up to him; appeared suddenly to recollect himself out of deep thought, and then said: "I do know one *man*, Sir, who would put up the tent, but I dare not mention him, for he has incurred your displeasure.

"Who is he?" said the Governor.

"Sergeant Allemann, who is under arrest," was the answer. "He was in the service of the King of Prussia and is sure to know how to manage this sort of tent."

"Bring him here!"

Accordingly, Herr Allemann was called; he went respectfully up to the Governor, hat in hand, and was asked whether he could put up the tent.

"It can be done with very little difficulty," was his reply; then he put on his hat, and set to work.

He put the tent poles through the upper holes of the pavilion, fixed the vanes on top of them, fastened the storm ropes to the iron poles, had the poles which carried the pavilion placed erect, fastened the storm ropes to the ground with pegs, spread out the pavilion with pegs, then hung up the lined walls of the tent by hooking them into the knots and fastened them down with pegs. There stood the tent in its complete array. The Governor first walked round the outside of it, then he went in. He was well pleased, and ordered that it should remain standing for some days. Then he returned to his house, having first commanded Herr Allemann to accompany him. Herr Allemann followed him to his room; then the Governor, having dismissed his attendants, turned to him and said: "Allemann, will you serve me as faithfully and as discreetly as you did Heer de la Fontaine?"

"Sir," replied Herr Allemann, "des brod ich esse, des lied ich singe."<sup>1</sup>

"Dat hebje well," responded the Governor, "shake hands." They did so.

"Very well," said the Governor, "you are released from arrest. Go to the Aufpasser-Wacht;<sup>2</sup> you are now my Sergeant, and my former Sergeant shall take over your place at the Schuur. You know that I intend to make a journey of inspection about the country; you shall accompany me. See to it that the saddles and boots for the men are ready at the proper time. For the rest, you may take your mid-day dinner every day with my House-Steward, and when you have finished you can come to me for orders."

Herr Allemann thanked him humbly for his kindness and then went back to the guard-house to report the affair to Lieutenant Rhenius. The Governor saw from his window Herr Allemann going across to the guard-house; so, realising his mistake, he opened his window and shouted: "A man from the guard!" the Rapportgänger

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<sup>1</sup> Literally—"Whose bread I eat, his [whose] song I sing."

<sup>2</sup> That is, the Governor's guard.

came running up and the Governor shouted to him: "Tell the officer that Allemann is released from arrest." Herr Allemann turned and made him a deep bow, then he went and thanked Lieutenant Rhenius and thereafter betook himself to the Aufpasser-Wacht. He took over the uniform of the previous sergeant; it was blue with double bands of broad gold braid on the pockets and cuffs. Thus did Herr Allemann become Sergeant of the Governor's guard. The fact of his promotion was announced the same evening at muster, and all the world at the Cape rejoiced greatly.

Next day, when dinner was over,<sup>1</sup> Herr Allemann went to the Governor to receive orders and had himself announced by a slave. The Governor, however, gave him permission to enter his room unannounced, and thereafter Herr Allemann did so. Almost every day he carried out some commission for the Governor, and always to the latter's satisfaction. One day, when the boots and saddles for the guard had been delivered, Herr Allemann in reporting the fact pointed out to the Governor that none of the men who were to accompany him on his journey knew how to ride. Many of the men had never even been on the back of a horse, while their ignorance as to the feeding, saddling and general management of horses was profound. Herr Allemann suggested that he should take these men to the Company's stables every day and instruct them in riding and in everything else necessary.

"Do you understand riding scientifically?" asked the Governor.

"I have served the King of Prussia as Lieutenant of Cavalry," was the reply.

The Governor seemed rather surprised and taken aback at this, and from that time forward he showed in all their interviews a noticeable respect for Herr Allemann. The latter obtained permission to use the Company's horses every day for the purpose explained above, the only condition being that he should hold his riding class in the morning, so that in the afternoon the guard might always be on hand in case the Governor wanted to go out. Whenever the Governor goes out the two trumpeters blow their trumpets both on his departure and on his return, while a sergeant, a corporal and ten soldiers accompany him wherever he goes.

Meanwhile, as you will see from the next chapter, important causes led to the temporary postponement of the Governor's tour of inspection.

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<sup>1</sup> Allemann, along with the two trumpeters, dined with the Steward.



## CHAPTER VII.

### Concerning the Land of Terletan, on the Rio de Lagoa.

The Dutch East India Company had at that time an establishment, or rather a trading post, with slaves for merchandise, on the River Lagoa. The post was quite two hundred miles<sup>1</sup> away from the Cape of Good Hope by land and three hundred by sea. It was in a desert country, wild and unhealthy. Except for slaves, and for a little ivory, there was very little that the Company could expect to gain from it. The country is the real home of the guinea-hen, a handsome bird about the size of a goose and marked with round black and white spots. These birds and their eggs constituted the best, indeed almost the only, food of the Company's servants in that place. Moreover, the climate was bad, the days being extraordinarily hot and the nights very cold. The result was that among the Europeans there deaths were frequent and sudden; indeed, it was reckoned that of the men sent thither only one in ten returned, and that the Company lost almost as many Europeans as it gained slaves. There were at the post a Commander, who was in charge and who ranked as an Under-Merchant; another officer, a couple of book-keepers, a garrison of rather more than one hundred men, and a few sailors.

The natives of this country—Terletanen, as the Europeans called them—are black, but of a shade less deep than that of the Moors; they have short curly hair, go entirely naked, and smell evilly. I have met several hundreds of them at the Cape, both men and women, and I know that when they approached me I sickened at the odour ten paces off. In their native land they torture their new-born children in a truly dreadful fashion with the object of improving their appearance. Using a pointed knife, or a bit of iron, they dig out of each child's face hundreds of little pieces of flesh, one after another, each about the size of a lentil. In this way<sup>2</sup> they make three

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<sup>1</sup> The German mile.

<sup>2</sup> That is, with little pieces of flesh grafted on to the sound skin.

rows across the forehead, one row on the nose, and three rows from each temple to the chin; they smear these places with the juice of a herb, and afterwards the flesh grows out above the normal level of the skin. The effect is as though they had hung over their faces strings of brownish-black coral beads. The women have similar adornments upon their breasts, but, since they go about properly dressed at the Cape, these I have never seen. They also make a hole in the lobes of their ears and suspend something heavy from it so as to make the ear hang down. This land of Terletan must still be very little known to the geographers, for, as far as I can remember, I have never found any book, except the "*Nieuwste Beschrijving van de Kap van Goede Hope*,"<sup>1</sup> in which it was mentioned.

The last Commander that the Company had at this post was a greedy and despotic man. In spite of the fact that he was under the Cape Government and depended upon it for orders, he tyrannised savagely over his subordinates. Upon any sort of pretext he would keep back the men's pay, or else he would give them unsaleable goods instead of it. Nor was this all; he even used, at his own pleasure, to deprive them of their monthly ration allowances. For a time the men managed to get guinea-hens and their eggs in exchange for knives, beads, mirrors and similar trifles, but once their stock of these was exhausted they suffered bitter hunger. When they became discontented and complained, the Commander had them flogged. At last they grew desperate and a number of them—probably between forty and sixty men—plotted to desert. Their plan was to march along the River Lagoa until they reached another post, Portuguese or otherwise. The gunner himself was involved in the plot and spiked the cannon that were planted at intervals behind the breast work surrounding the post. The day before the plot was to be put into effect, however, it was betrayed to the Commander by one of the conspirators. This man, a sailor, revealed the whole affair to the Commander in order to secure his own pardon, and he offered his services as laxman—that is, as hangman—for the punishment of his confederates. In the Company's establishments a laxman is paid twenty-four gulden for hanging a criminal. The Commander took down the names of all the men involved; then he had the greater number of these men sent to pull up on land a little vessel that belonged to the post, and that was lying at the wharf. While the men were doing this he caused the gates to be locked and had

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<sup>1</sup> See note on page vi.

the rest of the conspirators arrested. Then when the other men, after drawing the boat up on land, returned one by one to the post he had them arrested also in the same way. They were bound and locked up under guard in various different places. Later, the Commander had them all hanged, one after another, and this although he had no jurisdiction over life and death in the case of any delinquent. According to the Dutch Military Articles, moreover, no soldier who deserts because his pay, or even a small part of it, has been stopped, can be punished by death. In spite of these facts, however, the Commander had all these men executed, and for each man hanged he paid the laxman twenty-four gulden out of the Company's treasury.

The first news of these happenings was brought to the Cape by two little ships—a three-masted schooner and a two-masted brigantine which plied from time to time between the Cape and Rio de Lagoa. The Cape Government had reported the matter to the Seventeen, and Governor van Noot had brought out with him orders to break up the post at the Rio de Lagoa and to send the Commander and the laxman to Holland.<sup>1</sup> He therefore sent the two ships to the post with orders to bring back to the Cape all the Company's servants there, as well as all the merchandise, slaves and ammunition. When the ships reached the post the two Captains went, in accordance with their instructions, to the Commander and asked for as many slaves as he could supply. Then they went to the Officer of the garrison and gave him a sealed letter which contained his orders to arrest the Commander and the laxman, to put them in chains and to bring them to the Cape, together with all the other men at the post and with everything movable that belonged to the Company. The officer did not delay; he took some men and went to the Commander, showed him the order and told him he was under arrest. The Commander was terrified and behaved in a very cowardly fashion when the handcuffs were put on him. All the other men at the post, however—officials, soldiers and sailors alike—shouted for joy. They were thankful to leave the place, which was so bad and

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<sup>1</sup> Mentzel's account of this affair differs considerably from the official one, being strongly coloured by prejudice against the officers of the post. His dates are incorrect. The plot to desert was formed and punished in 1728, during van Noodt's term of office. The Directors subsequently left the question of abandoning the post to the discretion of the Cape Council of Policy, which on June 11th, 1730, decided in favour of its abandonment. (Archives, Vol. C. 305). Van Noodt had died on April 23rd, 1729.

unhealthy that men were sent there from the Cape as a punishment for various crimes. This was "relegation," and the post, in consequence, was punningly styled "Relego."

In accordance with their instructions the officers proceeded to embark the entire establishment upon the two ships. For fear of future opposition, they told the natives of the country that they were going to make war upon a neighbouring wild tribe, but that they would soon return. Shortly afterwards the two ships reached the Cape, and then before long the Commander and the laxman were sent off to Holland for punishment.<sup>1</sup> They were sent on separate ships, but neither of them ever reached Holland, for one night, shortly before the end of the voyage, the sailors threw both of them overboard. It would probably have been possible to discover the culprits, but no inquiries were made; everyone was glad that two such monsters had been removed from the world.

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<sup>1</sup> There is no foundation for this account of the Commander, van den Capelle. He lived to command an expedition up the East coast in 1731.



## CHAPTER VIII.

### Governor van Noot's Tour of Inspection about the Cape of Good Hope.

It was the breaking up of the establishment at the Rio de Lagoa that caused Governor van Noot to postpone for a time his intended journey.<sup>1</sup> Once the business connected with that affair had been satisfactorily disposed of, however, the Governor embarked upon his cherished project. He was to be accompanied by his guard, consisting of the sergeant—Herr Allemann—two trumpeters, a corporal, and twelve grenadiers, as well as by some of the officials. Heer de la Fontaine—Mijnheer de Tweede—was to take over the Government in his absence, but he was instructed that if anything of importance occurred he was immediately to send a mounted messenger to inform the Governor. The latter's route was agreed upon beforehand and was mapped out in daily stages, so that on any day it would be possible for a messenger to find him.

Herr Allemann had prepared energetically for the journey. He had procured waggons, horses and oxen; he had chosen servants and seen to the cooking arrangements. So well had he managed that on the appointed day when the expedition started not the slightest hitch occurred. Those of the baggage waggons that were drawn by oxen had to travel by night, going on ahead of the main party and halting in an appointed place at dawn; this made it possible for the oxen to graze during the day. At daybreak the cook and his wagon had to go on in advance, and it was arranged that whenever the Governor did not wish to lodge or take his meals in a farm-house, the great tent was to be put up by the sailors. On the day the expedition started, Herr Allemann sent the rest of the guard, as soon as the Castle Gate was opened, to the Company's stables, where they saddled their own horses. They then returned to the Castle, followed by a slave leading Herr Allemann's horse, and rode up in front of the

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<sup>1</sup> He set out on 1st November, 1727 (see Res., October, 1727, Vol. C. 21 and Journal, November 1, 1727, Vol. C. 303).

Governor's house. Herr Allemann was there, but he still had several things to attend to, so in the meantime the guard dismounted. As soon as Herr Allemann gave the signal, however, by tapping on one of the windows, the trumpeters sprang to horse and sounded the order to mount. These trumpeters were really only pipers and were quite untrained for their work; Herr Allemann, however, had so often sung or hummed to them certain military trumpet calls that they could give some of them in the proper way. When the Governor and his three companions were quite ready, Herr Allemann accompanied them to the carriage and helped the Governor to get in, then he turned quickly to his horse and was outside the gate along with the rest of the guard before the carriage with its six horses had been able to turn. In this way the journey began.

The first places visited by the Governor were the nearer of the Company's country posts. He inspected them and looked into things rather sharply. Then he went to Hout Bay, to False Bay and to Saldanha<sup>1</sup> Bay. Each of these bays is suitable for an anchorage. Many plans were discussed for improving the roadsteads so that Dutch ships might derive more benefit from them, and for making them secure against invaders, but none of these came to anything. Then the Governor went on to Stellenbosch, Drakenstein and the Land van Waveren. He crossed the so-called Four-and-Twenty Rivers, crossed the Little Berg River, and went as far as the Great Berg. He saw the Piquetberg, Groene Kloof, Roodezand, the Tijgerberg and the Hottentots Holland. The last-named is the best wine country after Constantia. He went, in short, wherever he thought that he might achieve any useful result by his presence, and he also went to every part of the country that, as a result of accounts he had heard, he wanted to see.

Nothing worthy of note happened during the journey. The farmers everywhere entertained the Governor and his party according to the best of their ability; that is to say, they gave to the cook the best game, fruit and vegetables that they could provide. For the rest, however, they showed themselves very reserved and cautious; this was because they had already learned that the Governor was not a man to be much trusted. Whenever the Governor dined or spent the night at a farm he used to ask questions about the circumstances not of his host, but of his host's

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<sup>1</sup> Presumably Saldanha Bay.

neighbours; probably, however, he found out no more than he already knew, for the farmers pretended to be very simple and behaved as though a broad river, seldom crossed, separated them from, and prevented them from knowing anything about, their next-door neighbours. If, on the other hand, any of the settlers petitioned the Governor about anything, they always received the same reply, uttered with the gravity of a Spaniard—"Veremus!"

The Governor and his train feasted royally, however, everywhere they went. While they were on the move Herr Allemann always had to ride next to the side of the carriage where the Governor sat and to entertain him with tales of the King of Prussia and his army. Herr Allemann used now and then, as opportunity occurred, to introduce a bon mot, and this pleased the Governor. Once the latter had descended from his carriage, however, and had entered a house or his tent, he never permitted himself to enter into conversation with Herr Allemann. He used to give him his orders every day, but always with a grave countenance and with no more conversation than was necessary. Herr Allemann, for his part, though sufficiently certain that he had gained the Governor's good-will, was discreet enough always to behave most respectfully, and never to overstep the barriers which divide a sergeant from a governor.

After a journey extending over five or six weeks the Governor returned to the Castle. His tour bore no fruit but some unimportant plans for the improvement of roads and for the construction of a few little bridges. On the last morning the Governor did not go in the carriage but mounted a saddle-horse that he had taken with him, and so rode around the Bay and into the Castle. The two trumpeters rode in front, then came the Governor and a member of the Council of Policy, then Herr Allemann and the guard, while the Governor's carriage and some of the baggage waggons brought up the rear. The soldiery had been drawn up outside the Castle to welcome the Governor. A squadron of burgher cavalry and two companies of burgher infantry were there, in addition to the garrison; they were all dressed in their best attire, had their colours flying and their drums and fifes playing. The officers saluted when the Governor rode by; the flags were waved, after the Dutch fashion, the men presented arms, a march was struck up, the cannon on the bastions of the Castle fired a salute. The ships in the Bay were flying many-coloured flags and pennons and made a brave uproar with their cannon. As soon as the Governor had ridden through

the Castle Gate the soldiers fired three musketry salvos, each of which was answered by a single cannon shot from the Castle. Inside the Castle all the officials were waiting to welcome the Governor; Mijnheer de Tweede was there, and the Independent Fiscal; the Merchants—except the Captain; he had been commanding the soldiery outside—the Under-Merchants, the book-keepers, the assistants, or clerks, and the burgher magistratorales. Herr Allemann sprang from his horse and held the Governor's right stirrup. As soon as the Governor had dismounted he took off his hat to Herr Allemann and said: "Ensign, you will dine with me to-day!"<sup>1</sup> Herr Allemann thanked him most gratefully; then he sent off his men to the master of the Company's stables to hand over their horses and to have their saddles and bridles brought into the Castle. At mid-day, having changed his sergeant's uniform for the one he had worn as "Opperbaas van de Schuur," he presented himself at the Governor's house. Other guests were assembled there, and the new Ensign received many sincere congratulations. His promotion was announced that evening at muster, and was subsequently confirmed by the Council of Seventeen in Holland.

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<sup>1</sup> Allemann was appointed Ensign in 1729 (Archives: Vol. C., 23.)



## CHAPTER IX.

### Herr Allemann becomes Wealthy.

It happened one day shortly after the events just related that the Governor went out of the Castle while Herr Allemann was in charge of the Guard. A blare of trumpets announced the Governor's departure. Herr Allemann ordered the Guard to fall in, and when the Governor passed, the men presented arms, the drum was beat, and Herr Allemann saluted with the spontoon, not as the Dutch do, with one hand, but gracefully, in the Prussian manner. Then he gave the spontoon to a Rapportgänger and accompanied the Governor, as the custom was, to the Castle Gate.

"How are things with you, my dear Ensign?" said the Governor, as soon as he had passed through the gate.

"I have to be rather sparing and thrifty," replied the other.

"How so?" said the Governor, regarding him.

"I have been obliged to equip myself as an officer," replied Herr Allemann, "and that has meant spending so much that my purse is fainting. Besides," he added, "there is my new uniform; that is entered against me in the books, and I shall have to earn its value before I can get my pay."

"Don't worry, Ensign," said the Governor consolingly; "I have raised you to a position of honour, and I will see to it that you have means as well."

Herr Allemann thanked him, and commended himself to his favour; then he remained where he was while the Governor went on his way.

You must not imagine that the position of an ensign is the same at the Cape as it is in Prussia. At the Cape, as I have already remarked, the ensigns are each in command of a company and occupy almost the position of lieutenants, although, as a matter of fact, they have very little to do, since the companies are really managed by their sergeants. The pay of an ensign is forty gulden a month, together with sixteen gulden sixteen stuivers *kostgeld*. In addition he receives quarters, wood and a servant free of

charge. They rank quite high, alternating with the Under-Merchants, not according to seniority, but according as the Governor favours the sword or the pen. Now, since the Under-Merchants rank third after the Governor, it will be seen that the ensigns occupy a position of great honour. They, like the rest of the soldiers, receive a new uniform every two years, and have the value of it stopped out of their pay. The uniform is of red cloth, trimmed with silver lace, and the hat is embroidered with silver point d'Espagne. They wear it, however, scarcely twice a year; only, in fact, when the garrison colours are paraded. These are two, one red and one white, and they are used only on great festival days, a general muster, for example, or such an occasion as Governor Van Noot's return to the Castle. The result is that an officer can make a single uniform last a lifetime. Material for new ones is served out to him, but instead of using it, he can sell it, and by doing so make a double profit, for the Company takes no commission on such transactions, while wares of this sort are very expensive at the Cape.

Now let us return to the Governor. After leaving the Castle he went to the real "Cape," where live the burghers and the greater number of the Company's civil servants. He intended to call upon Predikant Beck, but did not find him at home, so from there he went past the Company's Dockyard and Marine Warehouse; then he suddenly made up his mind to call upon Kampanjemeester Valck, who lived there. He entered the dwelling-room unannounced and found there Madame Valck, her two sisters, and various other agreeable ladies. The Kampanjemeester himself was not at home. The Governor was made welcome and invited to sit down. He did so, and asked for a pipe of tobacco; he talked to the ladies, drank a couple of dishes of tea, and seemed to be quite satisfied. It was, however, to one lady that he talked most of the time; apparently she pleased him best. Meanwhile the Kampanjemeester had been summoned, and when he arrived the Governor went over the Dockyard and the Warehouse with him. When he was leaving he himself opened the door of the parlour, where the company of ladies was still assembled, and took his leave in the usual fashion—"Vaart wel, Jüffers!" They all rose, said good-bye and accompanied him to the door of the house. The Governor paid several other visits thereafter, and it was evening when he returned to the Castle. Herr Allemann received him with the proper ceremonies, and the Governor expressed his appreciation in an unusually

friendly manner. This was all very well; but every one, Herr Allemann himself among the rest, knew that the Governor always showed himself particularly friendly when he had everything in readiness for an attack upon someone or other. Nothing of the sort happened, however, during the next few days; on the contrary, everything seemed to be peaceful.

Governor van Noot was niggardly, but still he always liked to have company about him that he might distract his thoughts; he behaved, indeed, like a man who tries, by every sort of diversion, to quiet an uneasy conscience. He kept a lavish table, but this it was easy for him to do, since as Governor he had *carte-blanc*; that is to say, the Company provided him, free of charge, with everything he needed for kitchen and cellar. One day he elected to have the company of Kampanjemeester Valck, and had him, together with his wife and two sisters-in-law, invited to mid-day dinner. The Kampanjemeester's family was much embarrassed by this unexpected invitation and would have preferred to stay at home; but to them the Governor's request was a command—it was indeed scarcely advisable for anyone to say him nay!—so they promised to come. At mid-day they presented themselves; the table was laid; dinner was brought in and was eaten as usual to the sound of trumpets. They sat longer than ordinary at table, but when they had finished the Governor went to the farthest window in the room and called to him Mistress Abbetje Meijboom. She went up to him, curtsied deeply, and awaited his commands.

“Mistress Meijboom,” said the Governor, “I have a request to make, but I want you to promise me beforehand that you will not refuse it.”

Mistress Meijboom: “Edel Heer, I cannot imagine what the nature of your request would be, were I, having received your commands, not willing to obey them!”

The Governor: “It is not a command in the least; it is simply a request. But first I am waiting to know whether you will promise to grant what I ask.”

Mistress Meijboom: “If it lies within my power, and if it is not in any way prejudicial to my honour, I will not fail to do my utmost to comply with Your Excellency's wishes.”

The Governor: “It does lie within your power, and it depends entirely upon your free will. For the rest, you cannot imagine that I am going to propose anything contrary to your honour, so will you promise not to give an unfavourable answer?”

Mistress Meijboom: "If this is the case, I await Your Excellency's commands."

The Governor: "It is not in the least a command! Give me your hand upon it that you will not refuse me." She gave him her hand and he held it fast. Then he went on: "Listen, Mistress Meijboom; I have a *parti* for you; he is a fine young gentleman, 'galant,' a man of understanding; he occupies a position of honour, and I am well disposed towards him and will see that he is promoted. What have you to say to this?"

Mistress Meijboom: "If this be your request, may I humbly beg to be informed who he is?"

The Governor: "It is Ensign Allemann. I am sure that it is a match you ought not to refuse."

Mistress Meijboom: "If that is Your Excellency's opinion, I will not oppose it, provided that Ensign Allemann seeks my hand of his own free will and not simply because of Your Excellency's command."

The Governor: "Heel wel gesproocken!"

Hereupon he opened the window and shouted: "A man from the guard!" A Rapportgänger came running up, and the Governor shouted to him: "Ensign Allemann is to come to me at once." Herr Allemann presented himself without delay, and, having paid his respects to the Governor, greeted the assembled company. Meanwhile the Governor continued to keep Mistress Meijboom beside him, holding her fast by the hand.

The Governor: "Ensign, I have to-day played the part of matchmaker on your behalf. I have proposed for you to Mistress Meijboom, and she has promised to give you her hand if you seek it, not through any command of mine, but because of your own inclination. What do you think about it?"

Herr Allemann: "Edel Heer, I should esteem it the greatest possible honour and happiness. All my life long I should regard your gracious recommendation with humble gratitude, and I would strive on all occasions to make myself worthy of it." Then, turning to Mistress Meijboom, he went on: "Dearest lady, I offer you my heart and hand. Ever since I have had the privilege of knowing you I have regarded you with the utmost respect and affection; but I should probably never have dared on my own account to make the proposal that His Excellency



has been so exceedingly kind as to make for me. I entreat you most earnestly to complete my happiness by assenting to this proposal. Say 'Yes!'

Mistress Meijboom: "Yes! But," she added, with a smile, "there is something that you too must promise—to forget what is past!"

Herr Allemann: "I know of nothing to forget! I love you from the bottom of my heart; here is my hand."

The Governor then released her hand; she extended it to Herr Allemann who took and kissed it. "Op de beek! Op de beek!" cried the Governor. Herr Allemann complied, and Mistress Meijboom returned his salute. The Governor then called for wine and the whole company drank the health of the newly-engaged couple. Then the Governor asked what it was that Mistress Meijboom wanted Herr Allemann to forget, so Madame Valck told him the story of the bed in the kitchen. The Governor pretended to be very stern and declared that as a punishment Mistress Meijboom must, after her marriage, let Herr Allemann sleep in her own bed. There was much laughter at this; but the Kampanjemeester carried the joke further still by advising the culprit that if she wanted to appeal against the sentence, she had better do so quickly, before she was married. Mistress Meijboom was embarrassed, but Madame Valck took her part and said that since she had long ago recognised, and repented of, her fault, she would not appeal against the sentence, but would regard it as valid whenever, after three weeks had gone by, Herr Allemann took possession of the quarters assigned to him.

After the company had been amused for a while with this joke, the Governor sent a messenger round to the principal gentlemen and servants of the Company, inviting them, together with their wives and grown-up sons and daughters, to attend a ball that was to be held that day in the Castle. The trumpeters and six hautbois players from the Garrison were summoned, and the guests appeared without delay. The Governor announced the engagement, and congratulations were showered upon the pair. Then the Governor opened the ball with Mistress Meijboom, and led her to Herr Allemann. Supper was at eight o'clock, and during dessert the Governor addressed Mistress Meijboom as follows:

"My dear young lady, don't for a moment imagine that I have made this match in order that your future husband might be supported by your means. On the contrary, I have helped him to a position of honour, and to a bride,

and I will also help him to earn his bread. Lieutenant Rhenius, you know that Captain van den Berg has asked for his dismissal;<sup>1</sup> I have informed the Directors of the fact and have recommended you for his position; your appointment will very soon be confirmed. In the meantime, I want you to take over the country posts which Captain van den Berg has under his inspection, and to resign your present duties as Commissarius to Ensign Allemann."

Lieutenant Rhenius thanked the Governor warmly, but at the same time suggested that, in order to prevent confusion, the interchange of duties should not take place until after the next General Settlement, when all the books were to be balanced. This was agreed to. Herr Allemann and Mistress Meijboom thanked the Governor for the kindness he had shown them, and thereafter the guests all left the supper table and fell to dancing. They amused themselves till midnight with English country dances, which are all the rage at the Cape, and are beautifully danced there; then they returned home, rejoicing in the happiness of the newly-engaged pair.

Mistress Meijboom did not need to spend much time or money in preparing for her marriage, for she already had everything necessary. She had little dreamed when she went, an unengaged girl, to dine with the Governor, that in three weeks she would be a wife! So it was, however; the banns were published for the first time on the following Sunday, and three weeks later she made Herr Allemann a happy and delighted husband.<sup>2</sup> They always lived

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<sup>1</sup> It was customary for the Company's officials to ask for permission to resign. Mentzel's account of this incident is inaccurate, for Lieut. Rhenius had been raised to the rank of Captain in 1728; he had succeeded Slotsboo, moreover, not Van den Berg, and the vacancy had been caused by death, not by resignation. (Archives, C. 540, p. 599.)

<sup>2</sup> It is recorded in the Journal (Archives: Vol. C., 305) that on January 1st, 1729, Governor van Noodt gave a dinner to a large number of people, and that after dinner the company "spent the evening in amusements"—probably, that is, in dancing. This entertainment may be the one which Mentzel describes and at which Allemann's betrothal was announced. There is, however, some mistake in his account, for Van Noodt died on April 23rd, 1729, being succeeded by De la Fontaine, and in De Villiers' "Geslacht Register" Allemann's marriage to Abbetje Meijboom is given as having taken place on January 15th, 1730. Possibly it was not Van Noodt, but De la Fontaine—always Allemann's patron—who forwarded the match, but on the other hand there is no record of any such ball or entertainment having taken place after Van Noodt's death and before January 15th, 1730.

together in great contentment and without discord. Madame Allemann was no beauty, but she could not be called downright ugly. She was rather tall and slender and had an excellent figure: so much so that after she had had five children she still looked in figure like an unmarried girl. The small-pox, which had deprived her brother of his eyesight, had left some marks on her face; before that happened she may perhaps have been very good-looking.<sup>1</sup> There was something very attractive about her form—indeed about her conversation and whole bearing—and she had besides an excellent understanding and was an exceptionally able housewife, while to her husband and children she was a loving wife and mother. (I have had the pleasure of knowing five of her children; it was my privilege to instruct three of them.<sup>2</sup>) No one, however, is entirely without faults, and Madame Allemann had one; she loved rank rather too well and insisted too much upon the respect due to it. I was an eyewitness of one incident that illustrates this failing of hers. She was sitting in a phaeton with her niece, the daughter of Madame Valck, beside her, and was driving her horses herself, when she met a carriage coming in the opposite direction. This carriage was occupied by a man of lower rank than herself, and it was his place, therefore, to make way, but his driver was so ill-mannered that he drove straight on at full trot. Notwithstanding this, Madame Allemann would not give way and she was very nearly run down in consequence. A serious accident might have happened had not the owner of the carriage, at the last moment, shouted to his slave to give way. When a point of honour was not in question, however, Madame Allemann used to associate in a very friendly and genial fashion with people of much lower birth than herself. She treated her slaves generously, and they found the burden of their servitude very light.

Herr Allemann, for his part, now that he had been placed by God in such happy circumstances, was very compassionate and charitable to the unfortunate and the needy. He had experienced poverty himself and knew the bitterness of it. He was particularly kind if he found any Prussian in trouble, or any man who had been in the service of the King of Prussia. He always did his best to employ such men according to their capacity and to promote them

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<sup>1</sup>From a will made jointly by Allemann and his wife in 1732 (Orphan Chamber Records, Test. Vol. 8, No. 17) it is apparent that at the time of the marriage their ages were thirty-six and twenty-six respectively.

<sup>2</sup>There were altogether eight children of the marriage (C. C. de Villiers, "Geslacht Register").

so long as they conducted themselves well and were not drunkards. (It is easy for a man to become a drunkard at the Cape, owing to the cheapness of wine there.) A Prussian must have displeased him very seriously if Herr Allemann, immediately upon discovering his nationality, did not do him a kindness. I can testify from my personal experience to Herr Allemann's goodness of heart. The very first time I entered the Castle he questioned me as to my nationality, and when he learned that I was by birth a Brandenburger and that I had served the King of Prussia, he immediately gave me two ducats (seven gulden, sixteen stuivers). I was very badly off at the time and they were a godsend to me.

Herr Allemann always dressed according to the Prussian standard; his walk, his way of giving orders, his whole demeanour, was Prussian; he was courtly without paying many compliments, and courteous without making a great number of bows. He spoke sincerely, without reserve or ambiguity, and answered questions put to him by his superiors with emphasis and precision. He knew himself to be innocent of any fault; he had done nothing even to cause suspicion; so if he was asked questions that seemed to point to calumny or misunderstanding, he used to answer in a very bold and lively manner. Another man would scarcely have dared to behave in such a way, but he cared very little for such things. A good conscience, and the knowledge that he was now independent of the Company's service, combined to render him courageous.

I have never learnt how much his position as Commissarius, or Inspector of the Company's Buijten-Posten, brought him in. It was said, to be sure, that he made forty gulden a month out of it, but about this I am not certain. I do know that there were some quite valuable perquisites attached to the position, but I cannot name them without going into explanations so long and detailed that they would weary my readers. Herr Allemann was very precise and accurate in everything that concerned the service of the Company. He did not often let an error go unpunished, but he would readily overlook a mistake if it had arisen through ignorance or thoughtlessness or haste. He considered that under such circumstances a little lecture, or a quizzing, was quite sufficient, and these methods were often more effective than a sharper punishment would have been. He seldom allowed a mistake, so long as it was not too serious, to be reported to the Governor, the Captain or the Fiscal; for if that happened, and especially if the Fiscal became the inquisitor,



things were apt to be unpleasant for the victim. I knew of one case in which the Second-in-Command at one of the Buijten-Posten had been appropriating some of the Company's funds. He had not acted through avarice, but because some other old comrades had given him to understand that he was perfectly entitled to act as he had done. His transaction, however, came to light, and the Fiscal found out about it. Through the Messenger of the Court he demanded that Herr Allemann should deliver up the embezzler. Had he done so it would have cost the man at least six months' pay for the Fiscal and as much again for the law expenses; but Herr Allemann was not disposed to plunge him into misfortune over a trifle, so he sent a reply to the effect that he was much surprised at the Fiscal's meddling in matters that did not concern him. The man, he added, had not defrauded the Company, but had somewhat diminished his (Herr Allemann's) extra allowance; the affair, however, had arisen entirely from a misunderstanding, and, besides, he was going to punish the man on his own behalf. That there might be a show of punishment he gave the culprit a sharp reprimand and ordered that he should not wear his sword for four weeks; this penalty produced a greater effect than would have been achieved by a far harder punishment of a different kind, for the offender was a young man and he set particular store by vanities such as the wearing of a sword.

With the management of his household Herr Allemann did not concern himself at all. He left this department entirely to his wife, while she, on her side, did not trouble about his work. They had a joint income and neither ever accused the other of excessive or unnecessary expenditure. Madame Allemann had a considerable amount of capital; it was safely invested and it brought in six per cent. per annum; while her husband was at once Ensign and Commissarius. He, however, drew none of his pay in the Goede-maande. He simply used to obtain every year a written statement of his account, and these statements, after they had been certified by the Governor, he used to send to a merchant in Amsterdam, Westerhoff by name, who cashed them at the East India House, receiving of course twenty stuivers per gulden, and who always used to send to Herr Allemann merchandise, instead of cash, for the amount. In this way Herr Allemann used to make five stuivers per gulden, or twenty-five per cent, on his pay, while he also derived considerable profit from the sale of the goods he had ordered. Later on, however, in about 1740, the East India Company decided that it

would not any longer accept statements of salary accounts from the East Indies and pay them in Holland unless the owner came in person to get his money. For the future, therefore, anyone who wanted to draw his pay either had to put up with receiving fifteen stuivers per gulden on the spot, or else had to wait until he returned to Holland and could claim it there in person. The reason given by the Company was that they had to take great risks, and that they frequently suffered serious losses, through sending the money to the Indies.<sup>1</sup> All these changes, however, are really nothing but well-thought-out devices by which the servants of the Company, from the highest to the lowest, are deprived—I had almost said cheated—of a great portion of the pay they have been promised and have earned. To return to Herr Allemann; he had, as I have shown, a very considerable income, and as it was not all absorbed by domestic expenses, he was able to put aside a surplus every year. He could be accused neither of extravagance, nor, on the other hand, of being—as so many are—“*je reicher, je geiziger*.” The Allemanns did not keep up a splendid establishment, but there was no lack of anything necessary for the table of an ordinary household. They paid for everything in cash, moreover, and in no niggardly fashion; while anyone who of his own free will did them an opportune favour, or made them a present of anything that pleased them and that could not be obtained for money, undoubtedly caught a whale with his sprat; for they were both of them far too nobly-minded to accept anything without making a return for it. May God bless their descendants and repay them a thousandfold for all the good that they have done, both to me and to many others!

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<sup>1</sup> The Statute here referred to was sent to Batavia in March, 1737, and was a stricter reiteration of many other Statutes to the same effect. In it the Company declares that both its servants and itself lose by this selling of salaries, and that by paying out the money in Holland it suffers a loss of between twenty per cent. and twenty-five per cent., since it has to pay in heavy specie, instead of in the light coin current in the Indies.

## CHAPTER X.

### The Sudden and Terrible End of Governor van Noot.

From the foregoing narrative, and especially from what I have said about Governor van Noot's goodwill and kindness to Herr Allemann and his wife and to Lieutenant, now Captain, Rhenius, my readers must have concluded that the Governor was a true philanthropist—a veritable angel in human form. In fact, however, nothing could be further from the truth; he was an enemy of man, rather, a devil incarnate! Everywhere one can trace, in the shape of the most melancholy consequences, the effects of his conduct, of his trickery, of his wrong-doing; of the heavy, utterly disproportioned punishments with which he visited offences that were often merely venial; of his uniformly brutal bearing towards officials of every rank, towards burghers and farmers alike, towards soldiers and sailors and slaves. It is not my affair to entertain my readers with a long recital of unpleasant stories. They would scarcely understand the point of those stories, moreover, unless I were to embark upon an endless account of all the circumstances, as well as of the customs of the country; for in remote places like the Cape, things that in Europe would be regarded as trifles may be of great consequence. I will, however, relate two occurrences that show how van Noot, through sheer caprice, sometimes inflicted irreparable injuries.

There are at the Cape farms that are not freehold,<sup>1</sup> and for which the occupiers have to pay to the Company a ground-rent of twenty-four rijksdaalders per annum. (Later on I shall have an opportunity of explaining this more clearly.) When the holder of such a farm died,

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<sup>1</sup> "Loan places." The rights of the farmer holding one were those of a lessee. He had no dominium in the ground and could not sell it, but he was entitled to dispose of the buildings he had erected on it. The Governor had the right to resume occupation of the ground or to refuse to renew the lease, which had to be taken out annually.

however, his son or heirs always used to succeed him—this privilege was never refused—but if there were no heirs who could keep the property, it used, with the consent of the Council of Policy, to be put up for sale by public auction.<sup>1</sup> Now in connection with these farms Governor van Noot found a good opportunity for exercising his capricious self-will. He used to tell the heirs, or the purchasers, as the case might be, that while the farm buildings did indeed belong to them, the land belonged to the Company and could be neither bought nor inherited. He would then grant out the land to a third party, and the heir to, or purchaser of, the farm would either have to come to some arrangement with the new occupier, selling him the buildings for a small sum, or else would have to break them down and cart away the materials.

Here is a second example of the Governor's malignity: It is usual for a number of young farmers to join together every year and go elephant hunting. For this purpose they have to go about two hundred miles inland, so they are obliged to provide themselves with several wagons and with a large amount of provisions and of ammunition; all this costs them a great deal. They make their largest profits by getting oxen and sheep from the Hottentots in exchange for tobacco, brandy, glass beads, knives, mirrors, shells, brass buttons, and other similar trifles. The farmers are never allowed to embark upon these enterprises without the permission of the Governor, and at this time several of these hunting parties asked leave of Governor van Noot. The latter made no trouble at all about granting their requests, so they bought wagons and trek-oxen, provided themselves with several Bastard-Hottentots, and collected the necessary provisions. When, however, they went to the Company's store to buy ammunition, tobacco and the goods they needed for trading purposes, they found that the storekeeper had been forbidden to supply them. They went to the Governor and asked for a permit, but he made all sorts of excuses for refusing to give them one. The end of it was that they were forced to remain at home, and many of them were ruined by the expense to which they had gone.

A Governor at the Cape has a thousand opportunities, if he be a trickster, for injuring both the officials and the burghers; there is, however, one incident sufficient in itself

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<sup>1</sup> That is, the buildings, not the land itself, used to be put up for auction. It was customary, but not obligatory, for the purchaser to be accepted as the new tenant of the loan-place.



to enable my readers to judge Van Noot's character and to realise his utter inhumanity. This was the incident that finally brought upon him his sudden and dreadful end. In the seventh chapter of this biography I related the facts of a certain rising, or plot rather, at Terletan on the Rio de la Goa. It was Governor van Noot himself, acting under the Company's orders, who had broken up the establishment at Terletan, and he might well have taken example by that incident and have refrained from giving occasion for a similar outbreak at the Cape of Good Hope, but his base avarice, and the black, grudging envy in his heart, seduced him into an unheard-of course of action.

I have already explained that those soldiers who know a trade, and are able to earn more through it than they could get by standing sentry, are excused from military service and pay in return for this privilege nine gulden twelve stuivers monthly. These men are called "Pasgangers," and the money they pay is the dienstgeld. It is divided among the soldiers who actually perform their military service, each man receiving anything from twenty-four to twenty-eight stuivers, according to the number of Pasgangers. As soon as the Governor found out about this dienstgeld he pretended that some of the men were very badly off for shoes, stockings and linen, and that he must therefore have the dienstgeld in order to procure these things for them. The fact was, however, that he intended to pocket the money himself. Every possible argument was used to dissuade him from the course he proposed; it was represented to him that the men could not possibly subsist without the dienstgeld, and that disorder, or conceivably even a mutiny, would be the result of his action. But he would not listen to reason, and all that he would say was "*Sic volo sic jubeo*." The Adjutant was obliged, therefore, on the first of every month, to hand over to the Governor the dienstgeld, together with a list of the Pasgangers. The soldiers swore and grumbled, they complained and entreated; but it was of no avail—they were silenced with blows. Throughout the Indies, "*Orlamme*" is the name applied to men who have been in the East for many years, or who have gone there for a second time after having once returned to Europe. Newcomers, on the other hand, are called "*Baaren*."<sup>1</sup> Both names are corruptions of Malay words—the one of "*Orang-lami*," signifying old, or known, man; the other of "*Orang-barn*," a new man. An

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<sup>1</sup> Flügel gives the meaning of this as "Fresh-water sailor."

orlam who behaves well and is known to be honest, has many opportunities of earning a little money from the burghers; but no one trusts the baaren, because no one knows, as yet, what sort of men they are. These men, in consequence, are always wretchedly poor, and if they get no dienstgeld they are obliged to live entirely upon their kostgeld and their subsidiengeld, that is, upon fifty-six stuivers a month. There was, therefore, great distress among them; hunger gnawed at them continually, and very few of them were able to buy shoes, stockings or linen. Those who could perhaps have bought them, would not; the rest could not. They had their uniforms, of course; but for the rest most of them were very badly clothed. Rebukes were useless, and the officers could not apply the lash, since it was obviously impossible for the men to equip themselves properly. Besides, the Governor had undertaken to provide these necessary articles out of the dienstgeld; so when he did not do so, although enough time had elapsed for twice the necessary amount of dienstgeld to have come in, Captain Rhenius and Ensign Allemann, being both of them in favour with the Governor, went to him and begged him to carry out his promise. They were unsuccessful, however, for the Governor rebuked them vigorously and dismissed them.

In the end, between thirty and forty men, most of them Baaren, being driven to it by hunger and distress, made a plot together and planned to desert. They decided to supply themselves as well as they could with powder and shot, and to let down their muskets over the Castle wall by means of a rope; then they were going to march as fast as possible straight along the sea-shore till they reached a foreign establishment; from there they hoped to get to Europe. The whole project was very ill-planned; broad rivers and great tracts of uninhabited wilderness lay between them and their destination, yet they never even considered the problem of crossing them; nor did they reflect upon the difficulty of securing provisions for so long a journey. But what will not hunger drive men to do!

The plot would have grown greater had not one of the conspirators betrayed it to the Governor. The men had not actually taken any steps,<sup>1</sup> and they had, besides,

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<sup>1</sup>Mentzel's account of the plot is not correct. According to Theal, fourteen men were implicated in it; thirteen actually deserted. (April 2nd, 1729.) They were captured, or surrendered, in small batches after having been at large for some days. One band would not surrender willingly but defended themselves until their chief had been killed. (Journal, April, 1729.) All the

an excuse for their intended action since they had not received the pay due to them; but the Governor, having received a list of their names, ordered that they should all be arrested and that the Fiscal Independent should investigate the matter as severely as possible. Eight men were regarded as the ringleaders, and by the Governor's orders they were immediately placed in the "Donckle Gatt," or Black Hole, a dungeon in which ordinarily none but prisoners condemned to death were confined. Of these eight men, two were theological candidates, and one was a certain Herr von E——, a German Kavalier<sup>1</sup> of very good family.

There is nothing remarkable in the fact of a German Kavalier having gone out to the East Indies as a common soldier. There are several gentlemen of this kind in the East. In 1735 there came to the Cape a soldier who called himself simply D——, and who described himself as an embroiderer; he was in fact a master of that art. Mijnheer de la Fontaine was Governor at that time; he sent for D——, and gave him a piece of extra fine red Chinese velvet to embroider with silver for a coat. The tailor cut out the coat, and D—— then embroidered it beautifully, but when it was nearly finished a fire broke out one night in the house where D—— worked, and so rapidly did it gain ground that it was all D—— could do to save himself. The house was burnt down and the coat destroyed along with it. D——, as you may imagine, was terribly alarmed, and when he went the next morning to tell the Governor that the coat had been burned he was trembling and looked like a ghost.

"Good Heavens!" said the Governor, "you look more dead than alive. What is the matter with you? Was my coat burnt perhaps?"

"Yes, Edel Heer," replied D——, with tears in his eyes.

"If that is all," said the Governor, "set your mind at rest; I have some more of the velvet and of the silver, so you can embroider another coat for me; in any case, I

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prisoners subsequently confessed their crimes; they had stolen the Company's goods, fired on the burghers, killing one, and had pledged themselves to live by plunder.—(Archives, Vol. C. 3490, p. 180, *et. seq.*)

<sup>1</sup>Kavalier=knight, courtier or simply gentleman. Among the names of the deserters there is no Von E——, but there is at least one German in the list. It is possible that Von E—— was known officially under an assumed name.

thought the embroidery on the last one was rather too narrow."

No one was happier than D——. When the tailor had cut out the coat, he made the embroidery wider and the effect was far more handsome than before. But the shock and the anxiety had been too much for him. He had only finished the two fronts of the coat when he fell ill and died. Not long afterwards the Fiscal Independent, Heer Daniel van den Henghel, received a letter from Holland, asking him to find out whether a certain Graf D——, a young gentleman about twenty-two years old, had not come to the Cape. If he had changed his name, the letter added, he might be known by the fact that he embroidered excellently; for when he had been a page to a certain Princess he had watched a French embroiderer employed by his mistress, and had subsequently practised the art in private. He was a grandson of the late Count D—— who would not submit himself, and who was beheaded at P—— in consequence. Just about the same time a Swedish Baron, Kaiserfeldt by name, also came to the Cape, and in order to distinguish him from the ordinary soldiers, he was immediately placed in the Governor's guard. He, however, was as big a fool as Graf D—— was an agreeable gentleman, so he was not kept long at the Cape but was sent off to Batavia. There he found a patron—a bigger fool than himself—who enriched him and before long sent him back to Holland as a ship's book-keeper.

To return, however, to the prisoners in the Donckle Gatt. According to his own account, Herr von E—— had enlisted for the East Indies through a number of adverse circumstances; perhaps they were really youthful indiscretions. He had retained his real name, but had not revealed the fact of his noble birth. He was kept at the Cape, and there Herr Allemann came to know him, and, finding him to be well-bred and gentlemanly, urged him in confidence to be frank about himself. Herr von E—— responded. It turned out that his family was known to Herr Allemann, and the latter would have looked after his welfare had he not been so foolish as to join the deserters. In spite of his having done so, however, Herr Allemann hoped to save him, both out of regard for his family and for the sake of his own merits. It was apparent that the affair was going to end very badly for the eight prisoners, so Herr Allemann went to the "cepier," or jailer—who, as is usual under the Dutch system, was an honest fellow, and was everywhere admitted into decent society—and



persuaded him to give Herr von E—— a hint to sham illness, that he might be removed from the dungeon to the hospital. The jailer promised to do this, and kept his word. Herr von E—— accepted the suggestion; indeed, it was unnecessary for him to sham much, since through ill-treatment, and through anxiety as to his fate, he already looked more dead than alive. The jailer accordingly reported to the Captain that Herr von E—— was deadly ill, and that he would die if he were not removed to the hospital. The Captain reported this without delay to the Governor, and the latter, to avoid being cheated of his vengeance, sent to the chief doctor, Heer van Schoor, ordering him to investigate and report upon the case. By great good luck, Herr Allemann met the doctor on his way to make the visit, and after an interchange of courtesies, the doctor mentioned the errand upon which he was bound. Herr Allemann realised what had happened, and replied that he was well acquainted with the man in question, who came of a good family and was himself a well-bred and promising young gentleman. At the same time he earnestly begged the doctor to take the man into the hospital and to look well after him; for his subsequent fate he himself undertook to be responsible. Accordingly, when the doctor had finished his investigation, he reported to the Governor that the man would die unless he were removed to hospital. This satisfied the Governor, who wrote an order for the removal of the prisoner, adding that he must be well guarded and delivered into arrest again as soon as he recovered. Herr von E—— was, therefore, taken to the hospital, and Herr Allemann sent him some money by a soldier he could trust, together with an injunction to deny himself nothing, not to worry, and to think only of getting better. A few days later, when Herr von E—— had somewhat recovered his courage, Herr Allemann sent the same man to let him know the plan for his escape. Herr von E—— agreed to everything; and that same evening, when it was dark, Herr Allemann went to the hospital with a couple of loaded pistols under his cloak, while the trusty soldier went on a little in advance and joined Herr von E——, who, in accordance with the plan, was all in readiness. The hospital is cruciform in shape like a church, and is surrounded by a wall seven or eight feet high; it is not divided into separate rooms, but consists of one long and one cross passage-way. Along the walls are wooden benches similar to those in the guardrooms; upon these lie the patients who are not very ill. Bedsteads stand in the middle space

and are occupied by the really serious cases. There are two doors, one in the wall and one in the front of the building. Above the latter there is an inscription in gold letters, and as this was the only one that I found and liked at the Cape, I will set it down here:

“Excipit hospitio fractos morbisque viisque  
Haec domus et medica larga ministrat opem.  
Belga tuum nomen populis fatale domandis  
Horreat et leges Africa terra tuas.”

To return, however, to my story. While the soldier went to Herr von E——, Herr Allemann talked to the hospital porter outside the gate in the wall, and he so placed himself that the porter was obliged to stand with his back to the gate and to the house door. Meanwhile, the soldier and Herr von E—— slipped out of the house behind the porter's back and went to the wall on the other side of the building. Here, with the soldier's assistance, Herr von E—— climbed on to the top of the wall; then he jumped down into the path that runs between the hospital and the Company's gardens.<sup>1</sup> Few people pass that way, especially during the evening, so he was able to escape unobserved. He went to a place that had been agreed upon beforehand; the soldier, meanwhile, slipped into the hospital again behind the porter's back. Soon he came out once more, walking very heavily this time, that the porter might hear him; bade the porter good-night, pretended not to know Herr Allemann in the dark, and went on his way. This behaviour having been the sign previously agreed upon, Herr Allemann knew that the prisoner was out of the building, so he too departed and went to the place where Herr von E—— was waiting. The soldier also went there, but by a different route. Herr von E—— joined them when they gave him the pre-arranged signal, and then they took him, wrapped up in Herr Allemann's cloak, to a place of safety. Here he had to remain in hiding for a few days until the homeward-bound ships in the Bay were ready to sail; then he was taken on board one of the ships during the evening. Once on board he had again to lie hidden for a time until the ship had sailed and was out at sea. Finally he came into the open; the ship's captain lectured him a little for the sake of appearances, but he was very well treated and he reached Holland safe and sound. He

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<sup>1</sup> The Hospital was opposite the present Dutch Church, and its ground extended to Wale Street, while the Gardens adjoined it.

then went as quickly as possible to his relatives in Germany, and never afterwards did he manifest the slightest desire to go to the East Indies.

His disappearance had to be reported to the Governor the morning after he escaped from hospital, but before it was announced the Patrol-Guard stationed on the Hooft,<sup>1</sup> reported—in accordance with a previous arrangement—that the evening before a man had been seen by their sentry to jump into the water some distance away and that he had not re-appeared. Someone else said that he had seen—or else he was said to have seen—at about the same time, a man running in a bewildered sort of way towards the beach from the direction of the hospital. It was asserted, moreover, that there were marks on the hospital wall showing that a man had worked at it with all his might and had climbed over it. In short, everything was so well arranged that when the Schaff-baar (hospital inspector) reported Herr von E.—’s disappearance, the Governor was forced to conclude that in the delirium of his illness he had escaped from the hospital and had drowned himself.<sup>2</sup>

The other prisoners who remained in the Donckle Gatt were tried and condemned by the Council of Justice to run the gauntlet ten times and then to be sent to Batavia as sailors. This, however, did not please the Governor. Like Wallenstein, he cried out: “They shall hang, the brutes! They shall hang!” The Independent Fiscal and the whole Council protested against this. They pointed out that the men were not liable to the death sentence, since they had not actually deserted, and since, moreover, their plot to do so had been caused by the stopping of their pay. The Governor, however, broke out peremptorily: “Ik neem het op mij,” and the Council had to be silent. The sentence was drawn up with the usual Dutch formalities, and the Governor immediately wrote his signature in the margin, together with the dreadful words “Fiat executio.”<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Described by Mentzel as “a jetty built out about a hundred paces over the water, where the ship’s cargoes were embarked and disembarked.” It was near the Castle wall.

<sup>2</sup>There is no record of any one of the deserters disappearing or escaping punishment. Of the fourteen men originally involved in the plot, one had been killed resisting arrest, while sentences of varying severity were passed and carried out upon the remaining thirteen. It is possible, however, that the main outlines of the story may be true that Allemann really engineered some such escape, but on another occasion.

<sup>3</sup>There is no evidence to support this charge against Van Noodt. The Council of Justice passed sentence of death by hanging against four of the deserters, the other nine being

Early the next Friday, between eight and nine o'clock, the seven prisoners were informed of the sentence; the execution was to take place at nine o'clock the next day. The dungeon was now opened, but a double guard was stationed outside. As soon as the sentence had been read, the second Reformed Minister entered the dungeon to prepare the condemned men for death; but one of the Theological candidates begged him to return home again, saying that he and his companions were all of the Evangelical Lutheran Church, so that he and the other candidate would console and prepare their comrades and each other. The minister reported this to the Governor, and the latter, who cared nothing for religion as a rule, was quite content that the prisoners should have their way. The condemned men were provided, according to custom, with food from the Governor's kitchen, and they were allowed, moreover, to have anything they wanted; but they ate little, and spent most of their time in singing and prayer.

The next day at eight o'clock the entire garrison, including the Pasgangers, who had to wear uniform, was mustered on the parade ground. At nine o'clock they marched to the front of the Governor's house; they were led, as is usual on such occasions, by one officer only. The prisoners were brought up from their dungeon under guard, and the sentence, together with an account of their offence, was read to them from the double flight of steps that lead up to the Governor's house. After this the garrison marched off to the place of execution, forming a circle around it, and the condemned men were led slowly to the spot. One of the Theological candidates took three, and the other two, of their comrades, comforting them and praying with them as they went along.

On such occasions a large tent is put up on the place of execution and the entire Council of Justice is escorted thereto by the Governor's guard. First comes the Sergeant with six grenadiers; then the Messenger of the Court, bearing in his hand a long wand made of thorn bush and tipped with silver, and carrying his hat under his arm. Next come all the members of the Council of Justice, two by two; the Corporal of the guard with six grenadiers closes the procession. The Councillors seat

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condemned to flogging and to hard labour, for varying periods, in chains. These sentences were carried out.—(Journal: April 21st and 23rd, 1729. Archives: Vol. C. 304.) The only recorded interference by Van Noodt was extremely trifling and was in the direction of leniency.—(Theal.)



themselves in chairs provided for them in the tent and remain there until the execution is finished. All these formalities were carried out just as usual; then the prisoners, having reached the place, knelt down and prayed with great feeling and edification, and they bade each other moving farewells as one after another they were led to the gallows. The soldiers and the onlookers wept out of sympathy with them; even the gentlemen of the Council could not hide their tears. Now it was the turn of one of the candidates; he and his companion bade each other farewell in the certain hope that they would speedily meet again in the blessed Tabernacle. Last of all, the other Candidate was led up to the gallows. The rope was about to be put round his neck when he exclaimed: "Wait a moment; I have something to say." The laxman waited, and the candidate, turning his face towards the Governor's house, cried in an exalted voice: "Thou Governor van Noot! I summon thee at this very moment before the judgment seat of the Omniscient God, that thou mayest there answer for my soul and for the souls of my companions." Then, exclaiming "Now, in God's name," he let the laxman put the rope round his neck and mounted the ladder; there another rope was put on; the two were fastened to the nail, and then the laxman pushed him off the ladder. He died without a single quiver.

When the execution was over the whole of the Council, escorted by the Guard in the manner I have already described, returned to the Castle in order to make their report to the Governor. They went up to his house and entered the great audience-hall where the meetings of the Council are always held and where the Governor dines at mid-day. The Governor was sitting in an arm-chair at the end of the room; they bowed to him, but he paid not the least attention; they advanced in order to speak to him, but still he sat motionless. Merciful God, he was dead! There was an expression of despair on his face, and his whole appearance was so dreadful that the Councillors drew back, dumb with terror. In their first alarm they could not think nor pull themselves together. A cry arose "The Governor is dead!" but no one would believe it, for he had been seen, alive and well, only half-an-hour before. Every living soul in the Castle rushed to the spot, but the sentry before the house was forbidden to admit anyone. The doors were locked and the Councillors betook themselves to the house of *Mijnheer de la Fontaine*, there to deliberate upon their course of action.

Suddenly one of the other prisoners, *Winkelman* by

name, began to shout: "Noot is dood; nu is er geen nood!" The other prisoners took up the cry, and in a moment every soul in the Castle, soldiers, sailors and workmen alike, were shouting: "Noot is dood, nu is er geen nood!" This Winkelman was made a sergeant afterwards, and he often used to tell the story of Van Noot's death; when he reached this point he always used to glow with enthusiasm as he recalled the warm delight of that moment.

As soon as the Councillors had pulled themselves together and talked the matter over in cold blood, they gave orders that the carpenter should immediately prepare a wretched, insignificant coffin, and that this should be taken into the Governor's house. Into this coffin the slaves were to put the corpse, just as it was. At midnight the Captain had a little sally-gate unbarred, that gave on the open country, and through this the slaves carried out the corpse, which they buried in an appointed spot. They were forbidden on pain of death to speak of the matter or to reveal the place, and they kept silence, so nothing is known for certain; but it has been conjectured that Van Noot was buried on a little island that lies at the end of the Bay and is called Paarden Eiland.<sup>1</sup>

After the real funeral had thus been performed the carpenter had to make another coffin, this time a handsome one of Indian wood, and with this, as soon as it was ready, the funeral ceremonies were carried out. First came the two trumpeters, their trumpets being muffled and enveloped with crape; then an Ensign, with pike reversed and draped in black, leading six hautbois players, to whose instruments crape had been fastened. Next came the Captain, the other officers and the whole garrison, the men marching with muskets reversed and draped in black; the spontoons had streamers of crape and the two standards were entirely veiled in it. The drums were muffled, and each one was hung with three yards of black cloth; the Sergeants had crape on their halberds, and the Adjutant, in deep mourning so far as his exterior went, but

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<sup>1</sup> As a matter of fact, the Governor died between three and four o'clock in the afternoon, some hours after the execution had taken place. He had probably been unwell for some time before. He was found dead, not at his house, but in the summer-house in the Company's garden, and his body was removed from there to the Castle late that evening. This fact may have given rise to the story of secret burial at night by slaves. Mentzel's account, though so inaccurate, is valuable as giving the general tone of the gossip about Van Noodt that circulated at the Cape after his death. That Van Noodt really was unpopular is evident even in the dry official reports.

inwardly rejoicing, bore aloft on a pole covered with black cloth the Governor's coat-of-arms, painted on a square board. A long streamer of crape fluttered from the top of the pole. Then came the empty coffin, carried by the assistants, or clerks, and surrounded by the Governor's guard. Four Under-Merchants bore the four corners of the pall. Behind the coffin came de Heer Gesagshebber, the Independent Fiscal, the clergy, the merchants and everyone of importance.

When the cortège passed the guard on duty at the Castle, the men presented arms, the officer saluted and the drums were beat; while it was on its way to the church, minute guns were fired from the bastions of the Castle and from the ships lying in the Bay. The gunner himself directed the firing, watch in hand. At the same time the flags on all the ships, as well as the one on the Catzenellenbogen bastion, were lowered to half-mast. When the coffin had been taken to the church and buried there, the garrison fired three musketry salvoes, each of which was answered by one cannon shot from the Castle. After this the men marched back again with drums beating, and never has the return march—"Praise God that he is dead"—been played with greater liveliness than on this occasion.

The fact, moreover, that these stately funeral ceremonies were performed with an empty coffin caused the common-folk firmly to believe that the body as well as the soul of the Governor van Noot had been carried off by the devil. It may be imagined that an affair so tragic was not kept quiet nor discussed only in confidence. Even when I reached the Cape, three years later, it was still a frequent topic of public conversation. I have set down the story as I heard it told by men of all classes, high and low, and they were all unanimous in the account they gave. I must acknowledge, however, that Herr Allemann and his wife took care never to join in such conversations.<sup>1</sup> In fact, whenever the topic of Van Noot's death came up they did their best to change the subject. The goodness of their hearts, and their well-deserved gratitude to Governor van Noot rendered them unable to speak, or even to think, of the affair without horror.

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<sup>1</sup>This may partly explain the inaccuracy of Mentzel's statements of fact concerning Van Noodt. Mentzel evidently arrived at the Cape in 1732 or 1733, and, as will be seen, his account of events that took place after that date is on the whole very correct.

## CHAPTER XI.

### Mijnheer de Tweede takes over the Government.

Mijnheer de Tweede, that is to say, Mijnheer Johann de la Fontaine, now took over the Government. It was the second time he had done so,—the first time having been after the death of Governor van Assenburgh<sup>1</sup>—and as he was a truly philanthropic and kindhearted man, all the inhabitants of the Cape, officials, townsfolk, farmers, soldiers and sailors alike, hoped that he would be appointed Governor. As we shall see before long, their hopes were realised. His first act as de Heer Gesagshieber was to decree that all those who were still under arrest for complicity in the plot to desert should appear before the Council of Justice and Policy. The men were not all tried together; each day a number of minor cases were investigated, and then the culprits were let off with a rebuke and released from arrest. A few men, who had been most deeply involved in the plot, were however confined to barracks for four weeks; that is to say, they were no longer under arrest, and they returned to duty, but they were not allowed to go outside the Castle, not even on detached guard duty. This is a severe punishment for many of the soldiers, since they are sometimes able to earn a little money, or at all events to get a good meal, here and there among the towns-folk. On this occasion, however, such was the general rejoicing at Van Noot's death, that life seemed to begin afresh for everyone, and many an honest citizen gave a little help to the liberated soldiers. One of the first and most praiseworthy actions of de Heer Gesagshieber was to put right, with the assistance of the Council, the question of dienstgeld. He had it paid to the men again as usual; but besides that he had the amount of which Van Noot had deprived them returned to them out of the property left by the Governor at his death. The ser-

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<sup>1</sup> He had succeeded De Chavonnes in 1724 and had remained in charge of the Government till the arrival of Van Noodt in 1727. See note on p. 36.



geants were instructed to see that with this money the men bought shoes, stockings and shirts. As a result the Company's warehouse was promptly emptied of shoes imported from Europe.<sup>1</sup>

You may imagine that Herr Allemann was very highly esteemed by the man for whose sake he had suffered so much at the time of Van Noot's accession, and whom he had refused to malign. There was, in fact, a cordial friendship between him and Mijnheer de la Fontaine. During the lifetime of Governor van Noot they had always been intimate friends, but in order to avoid suspicion they had been obliged to see little of one another; now, however, they made up for lost time. It seemed, indeed, as though Mijnheer de la Fontaine could not live in happiness without Herr Allemann's company. He had him to dine almost every day, and they spent most of their evenings together. If Herr Allemann did not go to the Governor's house of his own accord he used to be sent for. Previously, moreover, in spite of the favour shown him by Governor van Noot, he had borne himself towards the other officials in such a way that he had not made a single enemy amongst them. He had always done his best to put things right when the Governor took offence at anything, and the result was that the members of the Government and the Council were all his very good friends. For the rest, he lived very happily with his wife, who now, to his great delight, presented him with a little son.<sup>1</sup>

During the period of Mijnheer de la Fontaine's Interim-Governorship nothing occurred of sufficient interest or importance to be worth chronicling here. Meanwhile, news of Van Noot's death had been sent to the Council of Seventeen by the first homeward-bound fleet, and rather less than a year later Mijnheer de la Fontaine received his appointment as Governor of the Cape of Good Hope.<sup>3</sup> The news was received with rejoicing throughout the length and breadth of the Company's territories at the Cape. Even Hottentots in the most remote districts sent delegates to the new Governor, bearing with them tabeetjes, that is, presents of ivory, oxen and sheep. It is true that the Hottentots always send presents of this sort with an eye to their

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<sup>1</sup>These, Mentzel adds, were much better and more durable than those manufactured at the Cape.

<sup>2</sup>This was Nicolaus Anton, the eldest son, born in December, 1730 (de Villiers: Geslacht Register).

<sup>3</sup>The news reached the Cape on February 25th, 1730.

own interests, hoping to take back with them more than they bring. Their profit, however, exists only in their own fancy, for the trifles they receive in exchange—things such as brandy, tobacco, knives, beads and brass buttons—are not worth a twentieth part of their gifts. What they value most, however, is the “Palangbanger,” a big, clumsy stick with a fearful great brass head bearing the Company’s arms, which is given in token of chieftainship to the leader of each tribe. A chief leads his tribe either because of seniority or through being chosen by his fellows. Sometimes a Hottentot family or village (“kraal”) will send a deputation with tabeetjes to the Cape purely in order to obtain a Palangbanger for their newly-elected chieftain. To return, however, to my narrative: shortly after he had received his appointment the new Governor was presented with all due pomp and ceremony to the entire naval and military forces, as well as to the civil officials and to the assembled towns-folk and farmers. Cannon were fired and the troops saluted him with musketry salvoes. Never was a ceremony of this sort carried out with greater real satisfaction than upon this occasion; the Governor was lustily cheered; everyone present wished him luck and happiness a thousand-fold, and their wishes proceeded from true, honest hearts.

There were various changes among the officials about this time. Captain van den Berg had asked for permission to resign, partly on account of old age and partly through dislike of Van Noot’s despotic measures, but he had died before the confirmation of his retirement reached the Cape.<sup>1</sup> Lieutenant Rhenius was therefore appointed Captain.<sup>2</sup> Mijnheer Adrian van Kerwel, formerly Merchant and Pakhuismeester, was installed, in accordance with instructions from the Seventeen, as Mijnheer de Tweede; while Mijnheer Hendrick Swellengrebel was appointed Merchant and Pakhuismeester in his place. The rank of Merchant was also conferred upon Mijnheer Rijk Tulbagh, the head of the Secretariat. These three gentlemen, who all resembled Mijnheer de la Fontaine in that nothing but benevolence found a place in their hearts, were subsequently appointed Governor one after the other. While men of this kind were at the head of affairs, the Cape might

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<sup>1</sup> Captain Bergh had died in 1725, before Van Noodt’s arrival.

<sup>2</sup> Captain Rhenius had been appointed April 20th, 1728, during Van Noodt’s term of office.

truly be described as an abode of happiness and content, where a man might spend his life, literally under his own vine and fig-tree, in the utmost peace and goodwill. I must confess that whenever I think of the happy time I spent there, I cannot but lament the destiny that forced me to leave a land I had come to hold so dear.<sup>1</sup>

Just at the time when Governor de la Fontaine was appointed, a new Independent Fiscal came to the Cape from Batavia. This was Master Daniel van der Henghel, a man who loved the strictest kind of justice when it brought in any profit to himself. He had a wife who was a "Liplapin"—that is, a woman born in Batavia—and they were both of them covetous and unreasonable. They would seldom pay for work that had been supplied to them. If they were unable to avoid doing so they would pay part of the debt; then they would let the remainder stand over for a long time and finally deny it altogether. When Madame Henghel received work she had ordered, instead of paying for it, she would promise to let the workers know if she wanted anything more. It is true that when her conduct became known the tradespeople used to make all sorts of excuses and refuse to let her have their goods, but this did not help those who had already supplied goods and received no payment for them. The barber and the wigmaker who worked for the Fiscal had not for years received a farthing from him, but if they showed the least dilatoriness in their work he used to accuse them of stealing the money out of his pockets. Since he was Fiscal, and therefore quite independent of the Government, he had hundreds of opportunities of cheating and mortifying people. The cases he liked best were those he could push so far that they ended in the confiscation of the offender's goods; this was because a third of the amount confiscated went to himself. According to the newspapers, the Dutch East India Company, some years ago, prohibited the confiscation of property on pain of death.<sup>2</sup> This is an excellent decree and will contribute greatly to the general good, for the old system bore more hardly on the relatives and heirs than on the offender himself, but it will mean a considerable loss to the Independent Fiscals. Master van der Henghel would have prospered exceedingly

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<sup>1</sup>Mentzel left the Cape quite unexpectedly and against his will. See Chapter XV.

<sup>2</sup>April 24th, 1779. (Original Placaat Book, Vol. C., 911.)

in the days of Governor van Noot; it was indeed a very good thing for the Colony that he was not sent out in Van Noot's time, for the two of them together would have been like Wencelaus and his Favourite. Now, however, it was very different. The Governor and the Councillors were upright men, and thanks to them the Fiscal had often to eat humble pie, and did not dare to show his claws very much. The other officials were united against him and always kept the reins in their own hands. He was allowed, however, to have his own way, more or less, with runaway slaves and other malefactors of that race, for if the natives were not deterred from ill-doing by the infliction of severe punishments, such as hanging, breaking on the wheel and impaling, no one's life would be safe. A European, on the other hand, must have committed a very serious crime before he is punished by death. In the eight years that I was at the Cape only six Europeans were put to death, and they had thoroughly deserved it.

Herr Allemann followed a very wise policy with regard to the Fiscal, towards whom he remained friendly in an impartial and unimpassioned manner. He was highly esteemed by the Governor and enjoyed the respect and friendship of the Councillors; he was indeed respected, both by his equals and by his inferiors, as an upright man; while those who were under his command respected him and loved him as well, for he always used to take their part; he cared for them, looked after their interests, lent them money when they were able to invest it well, and helped many of them when they were in distress, without ever asking or expecting any return.

In 1734 news came that a large ship had put into Mossel Bay, a place about fifty or sixty miles from the Castle.<sup>1</sup> At first it was not known whether she was a friend or an enemy, a Dutch ship, or a foreign one, or even a pirate. Before long, however, her captain sent an express messenger to inform the Governor that she was a Dutch ship, *t'huys de Marquette*, returning from Batavia, and that she had been unable to remain at sea any longer owing to damage done by the strong storm winds she had encountered. He had been obliged, therefore, to put into Mossel Bay, and he begged the

<sup>1</sup> About 150 miles rather. The account of the Governor's journey is substantially correct. (Journal: July 7th, 1734—Vol. C., 307.)



Governor to send help to him quickly; if it did not come soon, he said, he feared that his ship would sink. The Governor immediately sent off the ship and house builders, together with a number of sailors, and promised to follow them himself as soon as possible. He set out, in fact, directly the arrangements for his journey had been completed. He had a train of six or eight wagons, and was accompanied by his guard, a couple of Under-Merchants, and Herr Allemann. The latter, having already made one long journey about the Colony, was the most suitable person to be in charge of such an expedition as this. He had to make all the arrangements—everything, indeed, depended upon him—and he carried out his duties to the complete satisfaction of the Governor. The journey was made very comfortable; the Under-Landdrost and a couple of mounted militiamen were always sent on ahead so that everything might be in readiness where the Governor was to dine or spend the night. When they reached Mossel Bay, the Governor inspected the damaged ship and made all arrangements for her to be repaired sufficiently to enable her to get round to Table Bay, where the repairs were to be completed. He then decided to make a two-days' journey into the interior. On this expedition he was accompanied by his guard, Herr Allemann and a number of Africander farmers. Among the latter were two brothers, Anton and Jacobus Botha by name; their father had come out from Europe, but they had been born in Africa. There had been a third brother, but he had died before the time of which I am speaking. In their youth all three brothers had been elephant hunters, and the two survivors were both still enthusiastic hunters, in spite of the fact that one of them had a farm of his own, and a wife and children to boot. They were big men, possessed of great bodily strength and of extraordinary courage. Ordinarily elephant hunters go out in parties of from fifteen to twenty men, but these three brothers used to go by themselves, taking with them only a single wagon and a couple of slaves. They used to shoot elephants, lions, tigers, rhinoceri, buffaloes, stags, deer, in short, everything that came their way. The ivory that they obtained they used to sell to the Company, receiving twenty stuivers a pound for it, and they shot no elephants the tusks of which weighed less than forty pounds each. For a lion skin the Company paid fifty Cape gulden, for a tiger skin, ten rijksdaalders, their object being to secure the extermination of

these beasts of prey. Of a rhinoceros the only part the huntsmen used was the hide, from which they used to make sjamboks; they were able to cut about one hundred of these from a single hide, and they sold them for twenty stuivers each. Buffaloes and deer they kept for themselves, taking the best home with them. In the course of the Governor's journey one of these brothers happened to catch sight of a lion that was lying asleep in a deep sand-hole. Botha sprang from his horse, took his musket, and prepared to shoot it as it lay asleep. His brother however saw what he was about to do, and stopped him. "What!" said he, "is it fair to take a brave fellow by surprise when he is asleep?" "Hi! Lion!" he shouted, "Get up!" The lion sat up and looked around; Botha shot it through the head.

On another occasion, when the brothers were elephant hunting, one of them shot at a huge elephant, but missed its head and only wounded it. When the elephant felt the hurt it moved towards its assailant—not trotting, of course, nor galloping, but moving, nevertheless, as elephants do, with long and powerful strides. Botha was on foot, and it seemed as though he could not escape, but must inevitably be overtaken and crushed by its feet. He flung his gun away, in order to distract the elephant's attention, and retreated towards his brother, who was standing near by. "Good God! My dear brother!" he cried, as he ran, "think of my poor wife and children!" "Coward!" retorted his brother, "is this a time for thinking of God or of your wife and children?" So saying, he raised his gun and fired at the elephant, which was now charging down upon the two of them. He shot it through the head, aiming so well that its fall and the report were almost simultaneous.

The third brother, who was now dead, had once been attacked from behind by a lion, which seized and crushed with its paw his right shoulder. Botha looked round and shouted at the lion: "What are you doing, you scoundrel? Is this fair?" The lion let him go and slunk away as if ashamed, with its tail between its legs. Botha then returned home holding the injured arm with the other hand. The wound was bound up, but he was never able to go hunting again, nor to aim a gun. The guns used by the elephant hunters fire a leaden bullet weighing four Dutch ounces. The guns are very large and heavy, and the ordinary huntsman, therefore, always lies down on the ground to fire, and places his gun in a little "Mikke," or support, shaped

like a pitchfork. These three brothers, however, never used these supports; they were so enormously strong that they could do without them. They were, moreover, excellent shots. Sometimes, in company, they would give a display of shooting, the prize usually being a bottle of wine. They used to fix a little post in the ground and put an egg on top of it to serve as a target; at this they would shoot, at a range of from four to five hundred paces, and it was seldom that they missed.

I have told these stories simply in order to show what kind of men these brothers were. There are many of the same type at the Cape. To return, however, to the Governor's journey: Herr Allemann has told me that after they had travelled for two days they found a beautiful forest containing much ebony wood and inhabited by monkeys and parrots. (Woods are few and far between at the Cape, while monkeys and parrots are hardly ever to be seen near the town. There used to be a large number of baboons in the neighbourhood of Table Mountain, and they did much damage to the gardens there, but most of them have now been frightened away. I once heard some of them calling, but I never saw any.) The Governor wanted to found a new settlement in the neighbourhood of this forest, and a house was actually built there, but it was left uninhabited. I think it very probable that a later settlement, founded by Governor Swellengrebel, and called Swellenberg<sup>1</sup> after him, is in this district. For the rest, there is nothing of special interest to relate concerning this expedition, except that on board the damaged ship there was the widow of an East India Councillor. Her husband had died during the voyage, and the Governor would doubtless have taken her to his house and have entertained her there as long as the ship remained in the Bay, had she been a suitable kind of person. She was not, however; her character was not such that a Governor would have felt obliged to put himself out on her account. She was of mixed blood, and the Councillor had married her for the sake of her great wealth, and she returned to Batavia by the first ship bound that way. The Governor returned home after having been away for five weeks. On the last day he went on horseback instead of driving, and rode into the Castle, where he was received with ceremonies

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<sup>1</sup> Swellendam.

exactly the same as those I have already described in connection with the similar return of Governor van Noot. The only difference was that on this occasion the welcome was genuine, whereas in the previous case everyone would have been better pleased had the Governor, like Absalom, tarried on the way.

After the events I have just related, there followed, in the career of Herr Allemann, a number of exceedingly peaceful years that were unmarked by any noteworthy occurrence. The Governor had without his knowledge proposed to the Seventeen that as the promotion of officers at the Cape was exceedingly slow, two Lieutenants should be appointed to the garrison instead of one, and that Herr Allemann, who was the senior Ensign, should have his patent as Lieutenant sent out to him. The Seventeen accepted this suggestion, with the result that one day, to his own great surprise, Herr Allemann received his appointment as Lieutenant together with an increase of ten Dutch gulden a month in his pay.

It was at this time that he appointed me to instruct his three eldest children, and entrusted his eldest son, in particular, to my care. He had procured for me the duty of superintending the delivery at the Castle of goods from the country posts. It was a very convenient form of service, for I was not in any way responsible for the goods delivered, and all that I had to do was to make a note of them. Once this was done I was free for the rest of the day; so, since the wagons used to arrive at the Castle at dawn, and often only every other day, I had plenty of time to devote to teaching. My little pupil had a slave lad, fifteen or sixteen years old, who accompanied him everywhere and who waited upon him and me. In order that I might look after my pupil properly, I was frequently obliged to accompany him either for a walk or else in Herr Allemann's garden, which, though not large, was well laid out. All this was very pleasant, and in addition I always used to take mid-day dinner with Herr Allemann at his house; breakfast and supper were brought to me in my room, while with tea, coffee, sugar and tobacco I was amply provided. Besides all this, I of course received pay and *kostgeld* from the Company.

My readers will remember that in the fifth chapter of this biography I mentioned that Heer Meijboom, Madame Allemann's brother, was blind. In spite of his blindness he was very skilful in many respects. He



dearly loved good horses and always had four picked ones to draw his carriage. He could judge the qualities of a strange horse quite well by touch, while he always used himself to keep the harness of his own horses in order, and showed great skill in mending it when that was necessary. He had a beautiful watch, on the face of which the half-hours were marked by little gold roses; when he wanted to know the time he used to open the front and carefully feel the dial; in this way he could tell the time correctly to the minute. The story I am about to tell will serve to illustrate his quickness of understanding. In the middle of Herr Allemann's garden there stood a little post. I noticed this and thought that it was meant to have a sun-dial on top of it, so I asked Herr Allemann about it, and he said that I was quite right, but that up to that date he had not been able to obtain a sun-dial. I said nothing, but without his knowledge I obtained a piece of wild olive wood about eight or nine inches square, and I carved a sun-dial upon it. This olive wood is so hard and close that it can be engraved almost like brass. I deepened all the half- and quarter-hour lines and spread over them a composition of oil-varnish which made them look as though they were inlaid with ebony. The pointer I made out of a piece of brass. At dinner-time one day I gave the completed dial to Herr Allemann, who was greatly pleased with it. His brother-in-law, the blind Heer Meijboom, happened to be present, and hearing the sun-dial praised, but being unable to understand what it was, he asked to see it. (This was what he always used to say when he wanted to feel anything.) Herr Allemann gave it to him and at the same time explained its use. Heer Meijboom reflected upon the matter for a little while, but soon felt himself to be sufficiently informed concerning it; during the rest of dinner he talked about the subject in such a sensible way that one would have thought him to have been long acquainted with it. He said he would like to have a sun-dial himself, one on which the half- and quarter-hours were marked by raised lines that he could feel. It was pointed out to him that he could not feel the shadow, but he replied that his personal slave, who always accompanied him everywhere, could show him where the shadow was, and that he could then tell the time by feeling the lines; in this way, he added, he would be able to regulate his watch properly. I made a sun-dial for him accordingly, marking the lines with brass

studs, of which I used three sizes, the biggest marking the hour lines and so on in proportion. Heer Meijboom was delighted with the present when I gave it to him; but the question then arose, who was to put the dial in position? In Herr Allemann's garden I had myself found the meridian line with the help of a perpendicular needle; but all that I could do for Heer Meijboom was to take his personal slave into the garden with me, show him Herr Allemann's dial, and explain to him as far as possible what he was to do at home. In the end, the dial was put up much better than might have been expected; Madame Meijboom put it into position herself, timing it by her husband's watch, and by good luck she must have hit almost exactly upon the meridian line.

Herr Allemann was not always as lucky in his undertakings as he had been hitherto. Just about this time Fortune proved changeable and played several malicious tricks upon him. In 1736 he suffered a severe loss through having his house burnt down.<sup>1</sup> I have already said that he possessed a house of his own, outside the Castle; like most of the other houses at the Cape it had a roof thatched with reeds. Now a number of runaway slaves banded together and resolved to set fire to the town when a high wind was blowing so as to be able to rob and murder under cover of the fire. It was midnight, and Herr Allemann was on guard duty at the Castle, when suddenly the alarm of fire was given. I went at once to Madame Allemann, but she, being still unaware that the fire had caught her own house, begged me to go to her husband and see if I could be of any assistance there. I went to Herr Allemann accordingly, but he entreated me to return; he thought that the fire had spread to his own house, or at any rate was not far away, so he told me to break in and to have as much saved as possible. I hastened back to the house at full speed, but I reached it, nevertheless, too late; it was no longer possible to get inside, for the furniture itself was alight. Madame Allemann had a considerable stock of imported goods laid in, notably tobacco, soap from Marseilles, tea, coffee-beans, preserves and fine salt. All this was destroyed, but all of it together was scarcely equal in value to her beautiful linen, which she had sent into the house to be washed

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<sup>1</sup> A fire, that affected five houses, is recorded in the *Journal*, March 12th, 1736. (Archives: Vol. C., 308.)

only a few days before the fire, and all of which was burnt. The only things saved were two fine horses and the phaeton; the horses we let out in to the open country, they had to be caught again next day; while the carriage we pushed out into the street. I opened the door of the fowl-house, but the roof was already ablaze, and I could not get the fowls out nor would they come out of themselves. When we went over the ground the next day we found the Terletan slaves making merry with a feast of roasted fowls. They ate the birds—which must have tasted very juicy, being cooked in that way—right up to the bones. It really is an excellent way of roasting birds, and one often used by the elephant hunters on their expeditions, to place them unplucked in the glowing coals and to cover them up so that no air can reach them. Rhebok, bontebok, klipspringer and other game of that sort is delicious when cooked in the same way. To return, however, to my story: the runaway slaves had set fire to a shoemaker's workshop that stood on the South-East side of the town, and as a South-Easter was blowing at the time the fire had spread rapidly and had caught three other houses, of which Herr Allemann's was one. By the mercy of God, however, the wind was stilled, and soon it was so quiet that a feather might have fallen to earth undisturbed, the result being that the fire was put out before it could spread any further. It would scarcely have been possible to check it so quickly had not Herr Allemann's neighbour adopted a really extraordinary method of protecting his roof against flying sparks. Herr Allemann's was a corner house on a narrow road; the house at the opposite corner belonged to a shoemaker, who happened to have bought an old sail from a ship. This sail, which was very large, he had spread over the side of his roof nearest the fire, and employed his own and various other slaves in continually pouring water upon it. In this way he saved his own house and protected those of his neighbours at the same time.

The whole gang of incendiaries was captured little by little. The prisoners were placed in the Donckle Gatt, where three of them cut their own throats, having been enabled to do so by one of the gang, who, with insolent boldness, went into the Castle in broad daylight and threw a sharp knife into the dungeon. He threw it in by the only opening the dungeon possessed—a tiny air-hole half-a-yard long and a quarter-of-a-yard high, that is above the door. Even this hole is guarded by iron

cross-bars. Of the remaining incendiaries, five were impaled; four were broken on the wheel; that is to say each arm and each leg was twice beaten in two with an iron club, and then they were bound living on the wheel; four were hanged, and two women were slowly strangled while the hangman's assistant waved a burning bundle of reeds about their faces and before their eyes. In warm weather it is usual for slaves impaled and broken on the wheel to live between two or three days and nights, but on this occasion it was cold and they were all dead by midnight.

These severe punishments served as a warning and an example, but they could not help those who had lost everything through the fire. Herr Allemann had his house rebuilt without delay, and gave it this time a flat roof of stone. His example was followed by most of the well-to-do burghers at the Cape; they broke up the old reed thatch and put on massive flat stone roofs instead. Hardly was Herr Allemann's house completed when he found a purchaser, so he sold it and bought himself a new one—a large house standing in a fine garden and situated on a knoll below the Devil's Peak. This is a delightful spot; from it one can see the whole of the town, the Castle, the Bay with the ships lying at anchor in it; Tjijgerberg, Robben Island, and a great expanse of open sea. It would be impossible to find a more beautiful view anywhere at the Cape.



## CHAPTER XII.

### Various Changes in the Government.

Governor de la Fontaine had become a widower in the first year after his appointment. He had two children—a son and a beautiful daughter. The former was a promising lad about ten years old, while the latter was of marriageable age. Mijnheer de la Fontaine was a rich man, so he decided to resign his position and go to Holland, that he might give his son a good education and make a suitable match for his daughter. In 1736, accordingly, he asked the Seventeen for permission to resign.<sup>1</sup> Before he could receive an answer to his request, however, he was fated to witness a terrible disaster that overtook the shipping in the Bay. This distressed him the more deeply because, up till this time, the Company's ships had been exceptionally fortunate during his term of office. From the beginning of April until the end of July the prevailing wind at the Cape is North-West. It lashes the waves in the Bay to such a height that the harbour becomes very dangerous to shipping, and it is only with the utmost difficulty that the ships lying there can avoid losing their anchors and being driven ashore. On the 20th of May, 1737, there arose an unusually violent North-Wester; it drove the sea far above its normal boundaries and caused it to rage with such fury that the sand at the bottom of the Bay was churned up. There were eight richly-laden homeward-bound ships anchored in the Bay at the time; they dragged their anchors in the storm, and seven of them were driven ashore, where they were shattered to pieces. A brigantine also went ashore at the same time. The storm had arisen the day before the ships were to

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<sup>1</sup> Governor de la Fontaine sent in his request to be allowed to resign March 1st, 1736. The reply arrived July 20th, 1737. He was permitted to resign, allowed to retain his rank and salary and return to Holland, and also thanked for his valuable and faithful services.—(Archives: Vol. C., 345.) From the official accounts it is evident that de la Fontaine, unlike Van Noodt, was extremely popular at the Cape.

have sailed, and all the captains were on shore at the time getting their papers. The one ship that was not wrecked owed her safety to the action of her first mate, who had three great iron cannon fastened to the anchor and thrown overboard, thereby making the anchor heavy enough to withstand the force of the sea. This ship took the news of the disaster to Europe. Her first mate was promoted and given a ship of his own.<sup>1</sup>

The crews of the wrecked ships amounted to 714 men, of whom 207 were drowned. Among those who were saved was one sailor who swam ashore on a six-pounder cannon that had not been washed off its wooden carriage; another in his terror had caught hold of the tail of a Chinese pig and was pulled ashore by it. Chinese pigs are not like the European variety; they have paws like a dog and swim excellently. A whole herd of them on this occasion saved themselves by swimming ashore from the wrecks, and they were subsequently rounded up on the beach. More than two millions in merchandise were lost through the storm. It is true that a large number of bales, chests and canisters were thrown upon the shore, but their contents were for the most part ruined; at the very least, they were wet and therefore spoiled for the purpose of honest trade. All the white cotton goods that were saved were done up afresh and sent to Holland where they were sold by auction to the cotton printers. This was the reason why Dutch cotton goods were so very cheap in 1740.

About the time of this shipwreck the Governor dismissed his son's tutor, sending him as Under-Merchant to Batavia. On the Governor's recommendation he obtained a post as Commander of an establishment on the island of Baaros, where most of the camphor is collected. The Governor was now hourly expecting to receive his permission to resign; he did not want, therefore, to engage a new tutor, but resolved on Herr Allemann's recommendation to entrust his son to my care. While he remained at the Cape, accordingly, the little boy joined Herr Allemann's children for his lessons, and though I could not carry his education any further than it had already gone—for I had no school-books at my disposal—I was at all events able to prevent him from forgetting what he already knew. I regarded the

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<sup>1</sup>Eight merchantmen and a brigantine went ashore, one merchantman rode out the gale. For an account of the storm see Journal, May 21st, 1737. (Archives: Vol. C., 308.)

arrangement as a very great honour, and I was not a loser by it.

At the beginning of August, 1737, a despatch from the Seventeen arrived. Governor de la Fontaine's resignation was accepted; Mijnheer de Tweede—Mijnheer Adrian van der Kerwel—was appointed Governor in his place, and the Pakhuismeester—Mijnheer Swelengrebel—was appointed Mijnheer de Tweede. The new Governor was everybody's friend—a man of extraordinarily good heart. He took over the Administration on September 1st, but out of respect for his predecessor he would not be publicly installed until Mijnheer de la Fontaine had left the country. As it turned out, however, he did not live to be installed at all. About four weeks after his appointment he had to take to his bed, and he died a fortnight later.<sup>1</sup> He was buried in accordance with his own wishes, not like Governor van Noot, with great pomp, but in the evening, by lantern-light. His wife followed him to the grave shortly afterwards and was buried in a manner befitting her rank. They left two sons and a daughter; the latter, who was of marriageable age, might with truth have been called the belle of Africa. She was so beautifully formed and possessed such unusual understanding that one could not but regard her with the utmost esteem and admiration. Many naval officers of high rank, not Dutchmen only, but English, French and Danes as well, had the privilege of meeting her, and they all publicly declared that they had never seen a lady who surpassed her in beauty or in intellect. South African women of European descent are almost all very good-looking. They have fresh, vivid complexions, bright eyes and well-proportioned features. They are courteous and affable in society, and they often have more intellect than their men-folk. Mistress van der Kerwel, however, surpassed them all. It always seems to me very foolish for a writer to try to describe the features of a beautiful woman, for in spite of the most careful description no one receives a really clear picture of her beauty. In this case, however, I am tempted to break my own rule, and in my next chapter I shall try to describe this young lady so that my readers may realise her quite extraordinary beauty.

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<sup>1</sup> September 16th, 1737. From the tone of the official reports it would appear that v. d. Kerwel was almost as much respected as De la Fontaine. (Archives: Vol. C., 308.)

Women are very affable and pleasant in their relations to each other at the Cape. So long as there is no doubt on the score of virtue, they are all equal together. The daughters of Under-Merchants, for example, are familiarly acquainted with girls whose fathers are shoemakers or tailors; they take precedence of their companions, but otherwise there is no distinction between them. On public occasions, such as weddings and the like, I have often seen Under-Merchants, or even officers, dancing with shoemakers' daughters, while their own daughters danced with the sons of tradespeople. Pre-eminence is conceded to the Upper-Merchants, since they are members of the Government and the heads of the state, but except for them, no man at the Cape regards himself as better than his neighbours.

After the death of Governor van der Kerwel, Mijnheer de Tweede should in the ordinary course of law have become de Heer Gesagshebber, but the Independent Fiscal—Mijnheer van den Henghel—objected, declaring that he, as senior Upper-Merchant, ought to have the position. He had a number of followers in this, for there were some who did not care to see the position filled by Mijnheer Swellengrebel, an Africander by birth. At all events, the Fiscal shouted down the entire Council, and after a long debate it was decided to submit the dispute for arbitration to Mijnheer de la Fontaine. The latter, wishing not to offend either party, suggested that the matter should be settled by the drawing of lots, and his proposal was accepted.<sup>1</sup> The lot fell upon the ambitious Fiscal, who accordingly took over the Government as soon as Mijnheer de la Fontaine had left the country. His first action after taking office was to have all the assistants summoned into his presence and to prescribe for them a form of address towards himself: "De edel achtbaare Heer Gesagshebber Meester Daniel van den Henghel."<sup>2</sup> They were threatened with dire pains and penalties if they failed to employ this formula. He could have achieved his object just as well by sending a message to the Secretariat, but this method failed to satisfy his greed for deference.

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<sup>1</sup> The drawing of lots was suggested by Brand, a member of the Council of Policy. De la Fontaine was informed of the result only, not of the discussion. The overbearing behaviour of the Fiscal and his unpopularity are apparent from the official report. (Archives: Vol. C., 29, under date 20 September, 1/37.)

<sup>2</sup> This was the usual form of address; presumably he enforced it very strictly.



He must needs make an absurd speech to the clerks, which, though really pathetic, only resulted in his being laughed at.

He made strenuous efforts, through his friends in Holland, to obtain the post of Governor, and he lived in hopes of hearing that he had succeeded. His anticipations became acute every time a ship came in. Herr Allemann was one of those who would have been glad to see him appointed. They had never, it is true, been intimate friends, but there had been even less intimacy between Herr Allemann and Mijnheer Swellengrebel. The latter Herr Allemann disliked, on the ground that, being an Africander, he was totally inexperienced, had seen nothing and learnt even less. Mijnheer van den Henghel, on the other hand, was a *Litteratus* and a *Magister Jurisprudentiæ*, and he had undeniably a good understanding. Just about this time, Herr Allemann made him a present of his own riding-horse, a fine animal, and one that the Fiscal greatly admired, for it was snow-white and the only horse of that colour at the Cape. Mijnheer Swellengrebel, however, was much vexed at the horse being given to his rival; probably he would have liked to have had it himself. At all events, he hated Herr Allemann from this time forward.

About this time a soldier called Jean Etienne Barbier, a Frenchman by birth, came out from Holland and was kept at the Cape. He gave himself out as an engineer and he really did know something about the art of fortification. They were just going to construct a small four-cornered redoubt for six cannon when Barbier arrived, so they entrusted the work to him in order to test his skill. As a matter of fact, however, a journeyman mason could have done all that was necessary. When the redoubt was ready a little house was built in the middle of it and Barbier was installed there as corporal, with six men under him. He was a very turbulent fellow and full of wild extravagant projects. He used to tell his friends—always in strict confidence—that he had been sent out by the Directors of the Company in order to watch the actions of the officials, and secretly to report upon all that happened. In this way he set rumours in circulation and hoped to gain credence. There were always some who did in fact believe him, but many did not, and when at last the matter came to the ears of the officials they did not think it worth troubling about. In the hope of silencing him, however, they promoted him and made him ser-

geant. He still spoke only very broken Dutch, so they sent him to the Water-Kasteel, where it was his duty to supervise the prisoners. They were already guarded by a corporal and nine men.

Barbier was a sworn foe to Herr Allemann, for what reason no one knew. In spite of the wide difference between them in rank, Barbier was continually seeking to get a hold over Herr Allemann and to bring charges against him. Some of these charges were very serious. He drew up and gave to Mijnheer van den Henghel a paper wherein he accused Herr Allemann of having embezzled on various occasions in the course of his work as Commissarius. The matter was investigated and it was found that Barbier had been misinformed upon all points, so he was reprimanded, reduced to silence by threats, and sent about his business. At first he blustered furiously; then he sought out people who were unfriendly to Herr Allemann—for every man has enemies, some open and some secret—and struck up great friendships with them. They were his spies, and heated bolts for him to shoot. For a time, however, everything was quiet.

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## CHAPTER XIII.

### The Administration of Governor Hendrick Swellengrebel.

One beautiful summer evening an English ship came into the Bay just as the sun was setting. Upon her advent a Dutch ship that was in the roadstead at the time hoisted an admiral's ensign, thereby following the customary procedure. Eight o'clock struck, and the Dutch ship thereupon fired a single cannon shot; according to the law of the sea, no vessel may fire a shot after the eight o'clock gun has gone, except as a signal of distress, nor may there be any further communication between any vessel in the roadstead and the shore. This English captain, however, entirely disregarded the rule. As soon as he had anchored he gave the Castle a salute of ninety-nine guns, and this notwithstanding the fact that the Castle flag had already been lowered. The Castle ought to have returned his courtesy with a salute of ninety-seven guns—salutes always go in uneven numbers—but as the guard had already been dismissed, this ceremony had to be deferred till the next morning. The English captain, meanwhile, was no less prompt in his next movements; he had his boat lowered and was rowed ashore. As soon as he landed he asked where Mijneer Swellengrebel lived; he was directed to the house and when he reached it found the owner sitting before his door in the company of a number of friends. Mijneer Swellengrebel got up to greet the Englishman. "Welcome ashore, Captain," said he; "you must have plenty of powder and shot that you make yourself heard so boldly." "Yes, your Excellency," replied the Captain, "I did it in your honour. I am the bearer of news that will not, I am sure, be unwelcome. The Company has appointed you Governor of the Cape." So saying, he handed to Mijneer Swellengrebel the Company's despatch.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>"You must know," Mentzel adds, "that when anything of importance is concerned, the Dutch Company give a duplicate of

There was, of course, great rejoicing in the Governor's family; in a few moments his whole house was lighted up, and his relations, among them his father, an old man of seventy, all came to congratulate him. There was an abundance of wine, foreign beer, pasties and all sorts of refreshments, and it was midnight before anyone retired to rest. Important news always travels quickly at the Cape, and this was no exception. It was very welcome, for even those who were not pleased at having Mijnheer Swellengrebel as Governor, were delighted that the Company's choice had not fallen upon the Fiscal. There were in consequence lively scenes of rejoicing at every turn, and many who in the ordinary course would have gone soberly to bed at nine or ten o'clock, were drunk by midnight. To Mijnheer van den Henghel and his wife the general joy can have brought little satisfaction. The Fiscal slipped out of the Castle as soon as he had heard the news and went to rest—or rather to unrest, for he cannot have enjoyed much sleep that night—in his own house.

The next morning at four o'clock—as soon, that is, as the Castle gates were opened—the salute of ninety-seven guns was fired, and about seven o'clock crowds of people began to present themselves to worship the rising sun, or, in other words, to congratulate the new Governor. Even the Fiscal was there with his congratulations and wanted to resign the Government immediately, but Mijnheer Swellengrebel declined to accept this, and said that he would wait until his Patent arrived from Holland. It came a few weeks later, and at the same time Mijnheer Rijk Tulbagh, who was the Governor's brother-in-law, and who had been head of the Secretariat, was appointed Mijnheer de Tweede. He was upright and modest; indeed, if one were seeking for a pattern of honour one could not do better than take him as one's model.

As soon as the Patent had arrived the new Governor had himself installed with the utmost pomp. He wanted to make himself popular at the beginning of his rule,

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their letters to the English Company and *vice versa*. In this way news often reaches its destination more quickly than would otherwise be possible. Besides this, in all their correspondence, three, four, five, or even six, copies are made and given to different ships, to guard against the loss of official letters at sea." The despatch mentioned here as having been brought by an English ship was probably, however, a private communication. The official tidings came direct from Holland, April 3rd., 1739. (Archives: Vol. C., 311.)



so he decided to hold general festivities, not for the servants of the Company alone, but for all the burghers. His father, a Russian by birth, who was rumoured to have spent 100,000 gulden in Holland to buy his son's appointment, provided a large sum of money for these festivities. With Herr Allemann's assistance the Governor arranged competitions for considerable money prizes, in shooting and in tilting at the ring on horseback.<sup>1</sup> Two large tents were put up in a large open space and several green arbors were constructed. Herr Allemann had the whole of the space bordered with avenues of silver trees, many hundreds of which he had cut down for the purpose. The leaves of the silver tree are a beautiful green on one side and on the other look as though they had been silvered; they are not simply white like the leaves of the elm or the poplar, but shine as though they really had been coated with silver. When the wind plays among the leaves the effect is beautiful.

The festivities were a great success. There was no lack—indeed, there was almost too much—of wine, beer and all kinds of refreshments, as well as of pipes and tobacco. For the men there was shooting and tilting, while the women amused themselves with dancing in the tents. To each Company of soldiers in the garrison was given a slaughtered sheep, enough vegetables to go with it, and a legger or pipe of wine. The Companies, however, had to hold their feasts not all together, but separately, on successive days. But for this arrangement, the whole garrison would have got drunk on the same day; as it was, however, no disorders occurred.

At the end of the new Governor's first month of office I delivered to him my monthly report. He looked at it and asked why Herr Allemann had not signed it. I replied that Herr Allemann had ordered me to do it and that it was my duty to do as I was ordered. "You have done right," was the reply. I thereupon withdrew and reported the matter to Herr Allemann. He only smiled at it, but the Governor made it a pretext for reprimanding him and for depriving him of the position of Commissarius. This the Governor gave to the youngest

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<sup>1</sup> Mentzel explains that they tilted on horseback in order to carry off on their lances rings that depended from the arches through which they rode. The rings contained prizes.

From the official accounts it is evident that the celebrations were on a lavish scale. It is interesting to note that Van den Henghel absented himself from these rejoicings. (Archives, Vol. C., 311.)

Ensign, Mijnheer Warneke,<sup>1</sup> of whom he was very fond. Mijnheer Warneke was a gallant officer whom one could not help loving, and his heart was in the right place, but he had one failing, and that was a tendency to become hot-tempered and quarrelsome when he had drunk more than was good for him. The Governor has to give two big entertainments every year, the first in February, when the homeward-bound fleet is on the eve of sailing; this takes the form of a magnificent farewell banquet to the principal officers;<sup>2</sup> and the second on October 20th, when the burgher mounted and infantry forces have completed their annual week of military exercises. On the last day the burgher companies draw up in front of the Castle gate, which is barred, and each Company fires three musketry salvoes. The salvoes are answered by cannon shots from the Castle. The Companies then draw off and the men separate until the next year.<sup>3</sup> In the evening all the burgher officers are entertained by the Governor, and to this banquet, as well as to the earlier one, all local people of distinction<sup>4</sup> are invited, and all the officers of the garrison. There are usually about sixty guests altogether, and to accommodate them two rooms in the Governor's house have to be thrown into one by opening the folding-doors that separate them. These doors are so wide that when they are open the table can be placed so that it runs without interruption the entire length of the two rooms. Now at one of these banquets, Mijnheer Warneke made a bad blunder by quarrelling in the Governor's presence with the senior ensign, Mijnheer Abel. He plucked the latter's coat and signed to him, and Mijnheer Abel, who was also a hot-tempered man and ready with his sword, promptly followed him out of the room. The Governor sent a messenger after them to call them both back, and they had hardly reached the Castle gate when they were overtaken. They had to return, and the Governor then forbade them to proceed with the affair and obliged them to make up their quarrel. The next morning they were both very glad that things had not gone

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<sup>1</sup> Warneke became Ensign in October, 1739. (Archives, Vol. C., 30.)

<sup>2</sup> That is, the Admiral, the Vice-Admiral, the "Schout bij nacht," or Rear-Admiral, and all the ships' Captains.

<sup>3</sup> This, says Mentzel, is called the Cape "obtrek," and also the Church festival (fair).

<sup>4</sup> Men only.

to extreme lengths, for duelling is forbidden in the Indies, and anyone breaking this rule falls under the jurisdiction of the Fiscal, who under such circumstances does not fail to push his advantage to the utmost. Even as it was, however, the affair had ill consequences for Mijnheer Warneke, who fell into disfavour with the Governor, and who was deprived, shortly afterwards, of the post of Commissarius. This was given to a kinsman of the Governor, Muijs by name, a man who had come out from Holland a short time before as bottelier on one of the ships, who had been made a sergeant immediately upon his arrival and who now was promoted to the rank of Ensign.<sup>1</sup>

No one could understand how this Mijnheer Muijs, who was a Hollander by birth, could be a relative of the Governor, for the latter, like his wife and mother, was an Africander, while his father was a Russian and came from Moscow. Mijnheer Muijs was a big portly man and his bearing was that of a naval rather than of a military officer. He shared the Governor's table, nevertheless, acted as his Adjutant or amanuensis and carried to him all the news of the day. In his capacity as Commissarius of the country posts he looked after his own and the Governor's interests rather than after those of the Company, and did not even trouble to be secret about doing so, but used quite openly to sell various products and materials under the pretext of an extra allowance from the Governor.

The latter had given free vent to his anger against Herr Allemann ever since he had deprived him of the post of Commissarius; he openly declared, indeed, that he hated Herr Allemann, and that he was only seeking—or at least hoping—for an opportunity to make him feel it. The Governor's feelings were obvious enough to most people, and Herr Allemann's other enemy, Jean Etienne Barbier, that is, was one of those who clearly perceived them. He thought this would be a splendid opportunity for him to give vent to his malice against Herr Allemann, so he drew up a voluminous document accusing him of the most amazing malpractices and declaring that he had witnesses to prove them. This he gave to the Governor, who welcomed it as grist for his mill, and gave the document to the Fiscal with instructions to institute proceedings

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<sup>1</sup> Sergeant Muijs was promoted to the rank of Ensign on February 11th, 1740, the same day on which Allemann was appointed Captain. (Archives: Vol. C., 31.)

against Herr Allemann.<sup>1</sup> In order, however, that there might be a show of justice to the latter, he had Barbier confined to barracks. Herr Allemann, who was on very friendly terms with the Fiscal and who knew besides exactly how he stood, distressed himself very little over the affair, but after the first hearing he also was confined to barracks; that is to say he was suspended from duty and was forbidden to leave the Castle. This period was the most melancholy that Herr Allemann had ever experienced, for he was believed to be innocent only by a very few, while the general public was quite convinced that he was going to be disgraced. It cut him to the heart to find that by many he was no longer held in esteem.

At the first hearing he flung the accusations from him and replied to them simply by declaring that they had been brought against him in an unjust manner. When, however, he found that the case was being pushed to extremes and that the Governor's mind was poisoned against him, he was obliged, though much against his will, to clear himself by a frank explanation. He spoke out, therefore, declaring that everything which had been laid at his door ought in fact to have been charged against the late Governor, Mijnheer de la Fontaine; that he had been obliged to act as he had done entirely by his orders and for his benefit; that Governors van Noot and van Assenburgh had enjoyed precisely similar profits from the country posts, and that, finally, his own participation in them had been confined entirely to what his superiors had given him of their own free will. He was within an ace of proving that the Independent Fiscal during his term of office, and that Governor Swellengrebel himself had acted in precisely the same manner, when the Fiscal gave the case quite a different direction by having Barbier called, and ordering him to prove that all the malpractices with which he had charged Herr Allemann had been performed without the orders or the knowledge of Governor de la Fontaine. Barbier was taken aback, but asked for a few days' grace that he might collect the required proof. He saw, however, that in fact the proof could not be forthcoming, so he decided to desert. He stole from the carpenters a rope that they

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<sup>1</sup>The case to which Mentzel is here evidently referring took place in 1737, before the appointment of Swellengrebel. It was Allemann who had Barbier prosecuted, not the reverse. The case is interesting and throws considerable light both on Barbier's subsequent fate and on various aspects of Allemann's career at which Mentzel elsewhere has hinted. For details of the matter see note at end of the chapter.



used in their work, fastened the end of it to a cannon, let himself down over the Castle wall and fled into the interior.

The next day he was missed. They opened his room, and finding it empty searched everywhere for him. Finally the rope was found dangling over the wall from the cannon. The Adjutant reported the matter to the Captain and the Governor; the latter sent out a messenger to inform the other members of the Government. At the next meeting of the Council of Justice the case was abandoned; Herr Allemann was found to be guiltless and to have been accused by a mere slanderer, so he was honourably acquitted and released from arrest.

For a considerable time Barbier remained hidden among his acquaintances in the country, but he could not remain quiet for long, and went prating from one farmer to another, trying to win them over to his side, making all sorts of accusations against the Government, and declaring that he had letters from the Council of Seventeen which would afford him complete protection. His efforts, however, were in vain. A few simpletons listened to him for a while, it is true, but the more sensible soon turned against him. News of Barbier's activities soon reached the Governor and the Council of Policy. The Landdrost was ordered to send out his deputy<sup>1</sup> and some mounted dragoons to catch Barbier and to bring him to the Castle under arrest. Some months elapsed before this could be done, for Barbier seldom stayed longer than one night in a place and very seldom remained near his sleeping quarters during the day. In the end, however, a farmer with whom he was going to spend the night sent a message to the Deputy-Landdrost, who was not far away, informing him of Barbier's whereabouts. At midnight the house was surrounded; Barbier was hauled out of his bed, set upon a horse, with his feet tied beneath its belly, and taken back to the Cape. Arrived there, the Deputy-Landdrost handed him over to the Patrol-guard and then went to the Fiscal to ask for instructions. The Fiscal, however, could not deal with the case, since Barbier was a soldier, so he sent the Deputy to the Governor, who ordered that the prisoner should be placed in the *Donckle Gatt*. Up till this time Barbier had been of good courage. He had laughed and jested over his captivity and had given it clearly to be understood that he had a letter of safe-conduct, on the production of which he would speedily be released from

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<sup>1</sup> Literally under-landdrost.

arrest, while Herr Allemann would be punished in his stead. He was taken off the horse by the Patrol-guard and went into the Castle on foot; when he had passed through the gate and came to the sergeant's guard-house he made as if to enter it, imagining that it would be his right as a sergeant to spend there his period of detention. He was ordered, however, to go on, and was taken to the Donckle Gatt; when he realised that it in very truth was his destination he suddenly lost all his courage, became very cast down and began to weep. He knew very well that none were imprisoned there but those who had merited death. It is true that one of the corporals might occasionally be shut up there for a night or for twenty-four hours, but with real criminals it was very different. They were not merely locked up in the dungeon, but were placed with their feet in the stocks, or else fastened to an iron chain, to await their final punishment. This was the fate that now overtook Barbier. It is usual for stubborn prisoners to be kept in this gloomy hole for anything from four to six weeks before the first hearing of their trial. This often has an excellent effect, for the prisoners become so weary of life under these conditions that they grow docile and confess everything at the first hearing in order to gain a speedy death. This was what happened with Barbier. He gave truthful answers to every question that was put to him, knew nothing of any safe-conduct, denied none of his crimes and prayed only for a merciful punishment. The case was not long drawn out. After two or three hearings, sentence was passed; he was informed of it on a Friday and on the next day the execution took place. Before the execution, his sentence and a list of his crimes were read out, but the crowd was so dense that I could not get close enough to hear. Others told me, however, that he was charged with having tried to usurp the Government, and with stirring up the inhabitants of the interior to rebellion for that end. The Director of the Office of Justice, Mijnheer Grandprée, who read the sentence, was by birth a Frenchman, and though he knew Dutch very well he spoke with a strong French accent, so that not everyone could understand what he said. I was told, however, that the word "lands verrader" occurred frequently in the indictment. When the sentence had been read, and after a short prayer by the Reformed Minister, Barbier was stripped by the hangman's assistants (Caffres) and bound upon a double wooden cross that was used for those condemned to be broken on the wheel; first his right hand and then his head were struck off with a hatchet; he was then

quartered and his entrails buried under the gallows, while the head and hand were nailed to a stake which was set up in Heer Straat, a road that leads from the Castle to the interior. The four quarters were sent into the interior and fastened to stakes which were set up in four districts.<sup>1</sup>

Such was the melancholy end of a turbulent fellow who could, if he would, have lived in the utmost peace and contentment. His pay had been twenty gulden a month, with eight gulden eight stuivers *kostgeld*; a house and firewood had been provided for him free of charge, and he had been entitled to make use of the prisoners under his control. His had been a most convenient station; he had had nothing whatever to do, except to have the roll of prisoners read by the corporal of the guard morning and evening, to take the key of the prison every night and to give it out again in the morning. The essential part of his duty had been to report every Saturday evening to the Governor, *Mijnheer de Tweede*, the Fiscal and the Captain whether the prisoners were all safe and in good health. When the whole garrison parades with the colours, word is sent to the sergeant of the Water Kasteel and he has to appear and take his place, but this seldom happens more than twice, or at most three times in a year. Thus Barbier had had nothing whatever to trouble him, and he would, moreover, have been certain to be promoted, for there was only one engineer at the Cape, the senior Lieutenant, an old man called Cochius. When Lieutenant Cochius died Barbier would without doubt have been given, if not his rank, at least his position as engineer.

After Barbier's tragic end everything was very quiet at the Cape. There was no need to hope for better times; everyone lived happily in real and present satisfaction. The Governor and Herr Allemann were seemingly on good terms, though in fact there could be no real friendship, nor even good feeling, between them. Herr Allemann always showed to the Governor every possible token of the respect due to him and performed his duties with the utmost zeal; so much, indeed, was his duty; but he paid no court to the Governor and was careful to avoid, as far as he could without impropriety, any occasion for doing so. He preferred to seek the society of the Fiscal. The Governor, on the other hand, continued to cherish in his heart a grudge against Herr Allemann, but the latter

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<sup>1</sup> This account of Barbier's execution is entirely correct (Archives: Vol. C., 37).

feigned to be unaware of it; he was, as a matter of fact, by far the Governor's superior alike in knowledge, in understanding and in wit. In his conversations with the Governor he used to give a definite reply to any question almost as soon as it was asked; but if he had any proposal to lay before the Governor the latter used always to ponder over the matter for a long time, and would never give a definite answer until he had consulted his father or the other members of the Government. Herr Allemann had for many years been aware of the Governor's weaknesses, and knew that except for a short journey to Batavia and back he had never been out of Africa, while there was no single branch of learning in which he had been solidly grounded. Apart from this cause of dislike, moreover, he could not bring himself to be on friendly terms with a man whom he well knew to be his secret enemy. This attitude of his, however, was destined not to continue. In just the same way it seemed as though Herod and Pilate could never again have become friends, but time and circumstances produced an entirely different state of affairs.

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NOTE ON THE CASE OF ALLEMANN *vs.* BARBIER.

On September 5th, 1737, Allemann handed in three statements against Barbier, whom he accused of libel. The statements were accepted, and Barbier was prosecuted for "having uttered certain libellous statements against the good name and honour of Allemann, Lieutenant in the Castle." Evidence was led showing that Barbier had on a certain occasion, when he was drunk and reckless, declared in the presence of a number of corporals and sergeants: "Mijnheer Allemann is a rogue and a scoundrel. I told him so to his face in the presence of Sergeant Panhard, and I am prepared to prove it." A corporal had then retorted: "You cannot prove it," whereupon Barbier had said "If you or anyone try to defend Allemann it proves that you are a rogue and a scoundrel yourself."<sup>1</sup>

Barbier admitted that he had made these, or similar statements; for the defence, he led evidence to show that his assertions about Allemann had been justified. He formulated a number of charges against Allemann, the chief being:—

- (a) That he had sold wagon loads of bast or firewood to the burghers at prices below those specified by the Company. (Presumably the wood was taken from the country posts and belonged to the Company.) Barbier produced a number of witnesses to prove this; Allemann replied to the charge by stating "that the Governor de la Fontaine, Adriaan van Kerwel and Mijnheer van den Henghel all were aware of what he was doing, and that it was in a way allowed as a reward for his trouble as Country Commissioner."<sup>2</sup> (Cf. Mentzel's account of his reply.)
- (b) That he had cheated the soldiers by depriving them of a portion of their pasgeld. (Cf. the very similar charges made by Mentzel himself against Van Noodt, Chap. IX.) Barbier declared that "between October, 1736, and February, 1737, nine men were allowed from the Company on one pass, and when he (Barbier) handed a list of the Company over to Allemann, the latter told him to ignore two or three passes, one of which should come to him." To this he replied: "I must use my own pay to live on, and this belongs to the garrison who do duty for the pasgangers." Allemann replied "What does a little thing like that matter? It is only a matter of a few pence to each soldier. It is not worth troubling about." Upon this Barbier said: "Then is it really true that there are more pasgangers in your Company than appear on the lists? So that is why we, the Adjutant and myself, had to arrange that one man less from your Company and one man more from the others should be on duty." Barbier added that this fact ought to be, and should be, known to all the garrison, and that if the matter were investigated the truth of his statements would be established. In reply, Allemann "expressed amazement that Barbier had attempted no defence, and had merely made a number of foolish charges against him that he was unable to support with the testimony of any wit-

<sup>1</sup> See *Civile Proces Stukken*, 1739.

<sup>2</sup> See *Civile Regts Rolle*, 1737.

nesses." He said, further, that "he did not intend to trouble about them as they were obviously false. Further, was it likely that he would so far confide in an inferior as to speak in such a confidential manner with a man he never saw outside of military circles or in the course of duty?"<sup>1</sup>

On December 5th, 1737, it was decided to conclude the case. There was no inquiry into the charges which had been brought against Allemann. On December 12th it was decided that Barbier should be confined for a further fourteen days on bread and water, and sentence was passed, Barbier being condemned "to declare that Allemann is an honourable man, and to state that he does not know anything against him. He is further to beg the forgiveness of God, Justice and Allemann in a public place." Barbier refused to comply with the sentence, and requested to be allowed to appeal to Batavia. Allemann's attorney represented that there were legal reasons against his being allowed to appeal, and he would probably not have been permitted to do so, but meanwhile he declared to the Governor that Grandpreez (secretary to the Council of Justice) had given him faked copies of the documents, misrepresenting the case, and he absolutely refused to sign any of them. He continued to be kept in confinement as he would not carry out the sentence passed on him, and finally, realising the hopelessness of his position, decided to escape. This he did on March 24th, 1738, and for over a year he remained at liberty in the country districts. On March 1st, 1739, he posted up his famous proclamation on the wall of the church at Stellenbosch, and later he wrote a number of letters, restating his case and inveighing against Van den Henghel and Allemann, to Governor Swellengrebel.<sup>2</sup> In one of these letters he declares that he could have got a hearing if he could have conducted his case so as to incriminate no one but Allemann, but he adds that this would have been impossible and that the names of nearly all the prominent officials would have been involved. Finally, on 17th March, 1739, he was captured, and on November 14th was executed in the manner described by Mentzel. At the conclusion of the ceremony all his papers were burned, probably as a safeguard for the officials whose names were involved, but fortunately a number of documents which he had handed over to the Governor were preserved with the evidence of the case, and are still to be found in the Archives (see Vol. C., 3500).

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<sup>1</sup> See *Civile Proces Stukken*, 1737.

<sup>2</sup> Who had been appointed April 3rd, 1739. The proclamation itself and some of the letters are preserved in the Archives (see Vol. C., 3500).

## CHAPTER XIV.

### Herr Allemann becomes Captain of the Military Forces at the Cape.

Captain Rhenius was by this time fairly old; his constitution, once very strong, was becoming enfeebled, and he longed for rest. His means were sufficient to make him independent, so he laid his case before the Governor and Council, requesting them to petition the Seventeen in his name that he might be allowed to resign. The Governor was very unwilling to accept this commission. Mijnheer Rhenius was an excellent officer, small in person but great in understanding; steady and courageous, agreeable in society, loving his neighbours like a Christian, and as careful as a father for the men under his command. He was, besides, a good father to his own family. He had two sons, one of whom was an assistant in the Secretariat, while the other was in the Pay Office. He had sent for three of his brothers from their home in Holstein<sup>1</sup> and had provided for them at the Cape. One of them was the garrison-clerk and looked after the workmen attached to the armoury; the second was an ensign and the third a sergeant. The first bore a strong resemblance to the Captain, but the two younger ones were of a different type altogether, being haughty and insolent, whereas the Captain was everybody's friend and was beloved by every honest man. Wrongdoers feared him, in spite of his good nature, for he let no deliberate fault go unpunished.

Unwilling as the Government was to lose the services of Captain Rhenius, they yielded nevertheless to his repeated solicitations and requested the Seventeen to accord him permission to resign and to appoint a successor in his place. In former times the Company always used to send out Governors and Captains to the Cape direct from Holland, but they had abandoned this policy ever since the days of Van Noot. It has been said that they abandoned it merely in order to avoid expense, but the truth may well be that they had realised the policy to be a failure

<sup>1</sup> Hollsteinschen—presumably Holstein.

and had seen how unsuitable it was to entrust the Government of a country to men who, being total strangers to it, were entirely unfamiliar with its customs and peculiarities. Captain Rhenius asked for permission to resign in 1739, and in 1740<sup>1</sup> the reply of the Directors reached the Cape. His request was granted and the Resolution added that the senior Lieutenant should be Captain in his stead. According to the intention of the Seventeen, the Captain should therefore have been Lieutenant Cochius, the engineer, but he was an old man of nearly seventy, and when the Resolution arrived he was already in his grave. He had died about a fortnight previously. This being so, the Governor and the Council of Policy had Herr Allemann called in and asked him whether, since the death of Lieutenant Cochius, he was not the senior Lieutenant. Herr Allemann replied that, as far as he knew, he was the senior, and, in fact, the only Lieutenant in the Cape garrison. "Very well," said the Governor, "then I have an order from the Council of Seventeen to instal you as Captain, Head of the Garrison and Commander of the Castle. I congratulate you upon your promotion and beg to have your friendship for the future as well as your advice and assistance in my administration." Herr Allemann dutifully returned thanks and commended himself to the Governor's favour. The other gentlemen of the Council likewise stood up and congratulated him, some with real sincerity and some with a mere affectation of it; among the former were Mijnheer de Tweede<sup>2</sup> and the Independent Fiscal, Mijnheer van den Henghel. The Governor then went on to ask Herr Allemann if he would be so good as to move as quickly as possible into the Captain's quarters when Mijnheer Rhenius had vacated them, so that Ensign Muijs, who was at that time very badly housed, might be enabled to occupy Herr Allemann's present dwelling. Herr Allemann deprecated the proposed arrangement, pointing out that he could not take possession of the Captain's rooms until his appointment had arrived from Holland, since he had so far been appointed in general terms only and had not been mentioned by name. All the members of the Council begged him however to oblige the Governor in this matter, promising so to frame their report to the Seventeen that the

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<sup>1</sup> Captain Rhenius received his discharge and Allemann his appointment by a letter from the Seventeen which arrived in September, 1740. (Archives: Vol. C., 547.)

<sup>2</sup> That is Rijk Tulbagh, the Governor's brother-in-law.



appointment could not but be confirmed. Herr Allemann could not refuse these gentlemen, so he consented to the Governor's proposal.

After this he left the Council-room. He had gone into it a lieutenant; he came out Captain of the Military Forces, Head of the Garrison, Commander of the Castle, President of the Council of Justice, and Assessor to the Council of Policy, with the rank of an Upper-Merchant. A message had already been sent out on the quiet to the officer on guard duty, instructing him to pay Herr Allemann the honours due to a captain when he came out of the Governor's house. As soon as he appeared, therefore, the sentry on duty before the house presented arms, and the officer of the guard had the whole guard fall in and present arms in the customary manner. In this way it was made known to the whole Castle that Herr Allemann had been appointed Captain, and the garrison rejoiced greatly at the news.

The Governor now very speedily altered his behaviour towards Herr Allemann, for if the Governor at the Cape is not on friendly terms with the three Upper-Merchants, that is with Mijnheer de Tweede, the Independent Fiscal and the Captain, they can make his life very bitter, especially if they combine against him. The Captain in particular, since it is he who has the most to say in all military affairs, can vex and mortify him in a hundred different ways. It is, of course, another matter if the Governor happens to be a despot such as Van Noot, who cared for no man's good opinion, admitted no reason, and troubled to untie no knots, but with the sword of Alexander cut them all asunder; but if the Governor is at all weak, he must be very complaisant if his fate is not to be that of Adrian van der Stel, who, having been accused by the Government in Holland was relieved by Van Assenburgh and called to account. Herr Allemann for his part, too, now that he was Captain of the garrison and a person whose opinion on all subjects was of importance, altered his bearing towards the Governor. He never failed himself to give honour where it was due, but now he insisted also upon the respect due to himself—it is indeed no laughing matter when highly-placed members of the Government make themselves contemptible by their behaviour to one another. The higher officials in consequence remained on good terms and were unanimous in all they undertook; the result was that they were respected. If there was at any time a difference of opinion among them they contended, at all events, over the merits of the case and not over personalities, nor over particular transactions.

In this year (1740) there came out from Holland a ship called "De Vis." She arrived at night, and to enter the Bay at night is prohibited, but in spite of this fact her captain decided to sail in so as to anchor in the roadstead. There was a light shining from a little battery on shore, but the captain and the mates did not know of the existence of this battery, which was the one that had been built by Barbier; they mistook its light for the one on Robben Island, and steered accordingly. A moment afterwards the look-out man began to shout "Brand! Brand!"<sup>1</sup>

"Waar is brand?" cried the steersman.

"Ahead, under the bows," shouted the look-out, and almost in the same moment the ship struck the rocks and wedged between them. News of the wreck was at once sent by the men at Barbier's battery to the main guard. As soon as it was day the Governor and the other chief officials hastened to the spot. The Kampanjemeester had to be there, for it was his duty to see that as much as possible was saved—if not the ship itself, at least the crew and the money chests, of which every outward-bound ship carries ten or twelve. He had under his command the sailors stationed at the Cape and the Company's slaves. It was not possible, however, for any boat to reach the ship where she lay among the rocks, so the crew had to devise for themselves a method of getting ashore. After having made several unsuccessful attempts, they tied a thin line to an empty cask and threw it overboard; the waves carried the cask so close to land that a sailor was able to venture out to it and bring it ashore. The other end of the line had been held on board the ship, but the sailors on shore now drew the whole of it up on land, and with it two more ropes—one thin like the first, and the other a great strong cable as thick as one's arm—which the ship's crew had fastened to their end of it. The sailors on shore now set up a stake in the earth and made fast to it the end of the cable, while some of them kept hold all the time of the thin rope. The crew then took a great copper cauldron, in which their food had been cooked every day, and hung it by its two iron rings upon the cable, their end of which they made fast to the ship. To one of the two rings they secured the end of the line that was being held by the sailors on shore, while they fastened a similar thin line to the other ring and held it themselves. Thus the cauldron could be pulled to land by the one rope and back to the ship again by the other.

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<sup>1</sup> "Breakers ahead!"

The cauldron was large enough to hold two men at a time, and it was thus possible to get the crew ashore by slow degrees. Between one hundred and one hundred and fifty men had already been saved in this manner when an accident occurred. The Bottelier got into the cauldron accompanied by his assistant, the Bottelier's maat, and by a little boy. The Bottelier had money on board, and he had crammed his pockets with ducats, thereby very materially increasing his weight. The load was too heavy: one of the iron rings broke off the cauldron, and its three occupants were thrown into the water. The rope was at once slackened so that they could keep themselves above water by means of it; the Bottelier's maat and the little boy were, in fact, saved in this way; but the Bottelier, weighed down by the gold in his pockets, sank like a stone and was drowned. His wealth was his undoing.<sup>1</sup>

This lamentable shipwreck drew more than a thousand people to the spot where the ship was stranded. Among the sightseers was the young lady of whom I spoke in my last chapter, Governor van Kerwel's daughter. Now Governor Swellengrebel had a painter in his service—a little man who drew extraordinarily well and was very proficient in his art. He had first learned engraving on copper and had attained considerable skill in that art, but subsequently he had devoted himself to portrait painting, in which he far surpassed the ordinary kind of picture maker. This was the more remarkable since he squinted very badly; so much that when one spoke to him one eye seemed to be looking West and the other due East. This painter was among those who came to the scene of the wreck; he brought with him a sheet of paper and a drawing-board, sat down on the ground and made a rough draft for a picture of the whole scene—the ship, the throng of on-lookers, the tents that had been pitched there and anything else that was to be seen. He chose to represent just the moment when the ring broke off the cauldron and the three men were thrown into the sea.

Afterwards he made a painting<sup>2</sup> from the rough copy. The picture measures two-and-a-half by two feet, so it may be imagined that the human figures in it could not be made more than about an inch high. Moreover, since all the

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<sup>1</sup> For details of the wreck see *Journal*, May 6th, 1740 (Vol. C., 311). According to the official record two cauldrons were used, and broken, after which a large basket was fixed to the line.

<sup>2</sup> The actual painting now hangs in the Librarian's Room, South African Public Library.

people were looking towards the ship and since the painter was sitting on a slight eminence a little way behind them, he could only see their backs, and had to represent them with their backs to him in the picture. In spite of this disadvantage, he drew Mistress van Kerwel, as she stood turning her back upon him, in so natural and realistic a manner that everyone who saw the picture at once exclaimed: "That's the jonge Juffrouw!"<sup>1</sup> Everyone admired the painter's skill, but in reality most of the credit was due to the fair person of the young lady. It was a great pity that she could not at the Cape make a marriage befitting her station, but all the men of good position there were married already. We thought it likely that she would leave the Cape and go either to Batavia, where her eldest brother was an Under-Merchant, or to Holland, for she had sold her parents' house after their death. What did in the end become of her, however, I do not know.<sup>2</sup>

To return to the story of the wreck. In the crew of every vessel there is one man who is by trade either a smith or a locksmith. He is called the ship's corporal, and has a little workshop under the half-deck; the Company provides him with a vice, a picklock and a little chest containing all the tools necessary for his work. The smith of "De Vis" was still on board when the accident happened, so he had to mend the ring and to make it secure again to the cauldron. This took a couple of hours to do, but the whole of the crew was brought ashore that day notwithstanding. Only the captain, the first mate and a couple of sailors, who volunteered to accompany them, remained on board; they had to do so, for the chests of gold had not yet been saved. It was too dangerous to risk trying to bring them ashore in the cauldron lest they might be too heavy for it, and on the other hand it had not been possible for any boat to reach the ship, since it lay outside the Bay, at the extreme point of Africa, towards the open sea, which was rough and stormy. The next day, however, dawned bright and clear; the sea was smooth and peaceful. Governor Swellengrebel offered to give a considerable reward out of his private purse to any sailors who would venture out to the ship and bring off the chests of gold. Near as the ship lay to land, it was necessary to make a big detour in order to reach her, for the

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<sup>1</sup> This title, he adds, was given only to the daughters of Governors.

<sup>2</sup> After the Governor's death in 1737 his family returned to Holland, and Miss Van Kerwel married Jacob van Meerdervoort of Dordrecht in 1741 (de Villiers: Geslacht Register).



land where she was, ran at right angles to the Bay, and a boat approaching her had to sail right out of the Bay into the open sea. Moreover, it was not possible to get near the ship with a big boat, for the water was shallow where she lay, while on the other hand a shallop was too small, could not hold more than about two chests at a time, and ran a great risk of being upset with them in the open sea. The stimulus of the Governor's reward, nevertheless, proved sufficient to overcome all difficulties. The quartermaster and his sailors embarked in a big boat and trailed a little shallop behind them. They sailed out of the Bay and round to the scene of the wreck, coming to anchor as near as they could venture to the stern of the stranded ship. A few sailors then climbed into the shallop and rowed up under the stern of the ship. The men on board opened the ports of the gunners' room and lowered two chests of gold through them into the shallop. The stern of the latter had already been secured by a long, thin line to the big boat; her bows were now secured in the same way to the ship; thus she could be hauled to and fro between the one and the other. In this way all the chests of gold were transferred, two by two; when there were none of them left in the ship the captain and his companions were taken off, and the big boat then returned to shore.

That night the flood tide raised the ship a little, and in the ebb she must have been suddenly crushed down upon the rocks, for the next morning she was lying right on her side and was split both lengthways and across. It was now possible to reach her merely by walking out over the rocks and by wading knee-deep through the water, but there was little or nothing left to save. Much more might have been saved had the sailors cut down the masts as soon as she struck, for that would have lightened her and she would not have broken up so easily. The masts had been left standing, however, for the Company's officers never have any control over their men in a wreck. The Company makes a rule of withholding pay when a ship is lost; as soon as a ship strands, therefore, the sailors become as unmanageable as wild horses. They seize upon all the wine, beer and brandy on board, guzzling them to excess; they break open every case and chest that they can get hold of, respecting only the chests of gold, behind which loom the gallows, and for the rest they behave like victorious soldiers who have been authorised to plunder, while the officers dare not say a word for fear of blows. Many a stranded ship could be salvaged and refloated, were only the crews kept in control; but

since, as I explained in chapter II., "When the ship is lost, all is lost," and no debts have to be paid. if the sailor can only save his own life he does not stop to inquire whether the ship can be saved or not.

The story of the wreck has led me rather far from my real subject, but it seemed to me too interesting to be omitted. I must now return, however, to the life of Herr Allemann and to my account of the persons interested in his career, not the least of whom, at this time, was Governor Swellengrebel. The latter was neither learned nor intellectual, but no one could deny that he had a very good heart. Owing to the lack of real schools at the Cape, an Africander has no opportunity to learn anything except reading, writing and arithmetic; he can acquire little knowledge of the polite arts and none at all of politics, finance, or jurisprudence. In justice to Governor Swellengrebel, however, it must be admitted that he honestly desired to do right. Had he only been as well educated as he was endowed with natural ability he might have been a great benefactor, especially since he was very rich and not miserly. In one respect, however, his administration was from the very first corrupt; he always used to show preference to Hollanders rather than to Germans, while his own Africander relatives always obtained preferment over the heads of everybody else. He had a large number of these relatives, for both his wife and his mother were Africanders; besides, when favour and promotion are in question, relations always bring forward other relations of their own, so that the circle of dependent kin continually increases. It is true that the Governor never deprived any man, whether German or otherwise, of his post; but as soon as a civil post fell vacant he used promptly to give it to one of his relations. This policy was unpopular, even with Africanders themselves. In the complete absence of good schools at the Cape it was impossible for them to be really well educated; so that if, in the course of time, any of them were promoted to high official posts, it may easily be imagined that they were mere nonentities, seldom capable of doing more than assent blindly to any proposal that was made. It is certain that the Governor's method of promotion would never have done in military matters. Hollanders make good sailors, but poor soldiers, and Captain Allemann saw to it, therefore, that more Germans than Hollanders were appointed to high military posts.

As soon as Governor Swellengrebel had been installed he embarked upon an undertaking that earned him much

respect and gratitude. There was a wide open space of some thousand square rods between the Castle and the town proper, and it was crossed by excavated passages which were in many places so deep that wagons could not be seen from the level when passing along them. Never an evening used to pass, except when the moon was shining brightly, without someone falling into one of these passages. The victims used often to receive serious injuries, and they were not all drunk by any means; sober men used to fall in and get hurt as well as roisterers. The Governor had the whole place levelled, and afterwards, when it was overgrown with grass, it became a very pleasant spot for promenading. It is surprising that no one had carried out this reform before; but at all events the Governor won the eternal gratitude of the townsfolk by doing it, and they were the more grateful since the work did not cost a penny. The Governor ordered that a certain number of burghers should send one slave each day to work at the levelling. The burghers were only too glad to comply, and when everyone had contributed two or three times in this way the work was finished.

The land immediately around the Cape, and for about twenty-four or thirty miles into the interior, had been granted out in freehold farms, each one being situated half-a-mile or an hour's journey from the next. The owners can do as they like with the land, and the better they manage it the greater is their own profit. At Twenty-Four Rivers, however, and at the Little Berg River, the conditions were different. The land had been granted out by Governor Wilhelm van der Stel<sup>1</sup> for farms of the same size,<sup>2</sup> but he granted it on leasehold instead of on freehold terms, and the yearly ground-rent was twenty-four rijksdaalders. The occupants of these loan-places paid in addition the usual tax, consisting of one-tenth of their total grain crop, one Dutch gulden on every legger of wine, one on every ten cattle and one on every hundred sheep. Governor van der Stel's object had been a worthy one, namely, to increase the Company's revenue, but the system was contrary to all the principles of economics. It produced the same state of affairs that is to be found in many German Provinces, where the peasants are serfs and can be transferred from one holding to another at the will of their masters, the owners of the land. Such peasants do not trouble to make

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<sup>1</sup> The father, Mentzel adds, of Adrian v. d. Stel.

<sup>2</sup> *i.e.*, half a mile square (German mile).

more out of their holdings than will just suffice them to live on; they do not care in the least whether the fields are well cultivated nor whether the buildings are kept in good repair. Very much the same was the attitude of those who held loan-places at the Cape: "Land en sand" belonged to the Company, and when the holder of a loan-place died it always rested with the Governor to say whether or not he would let out the land again to the heirs. If the latter did not obtain the grant they were of course entitled to take away all cattle and movable property, as well as to sell any buildings that had been put up on the land. If there were no heirs, the buildings used to be put up for auction, but the successful bidder always ran the risk, unless he had already obtained an assurance to the contrary from the proper quarter, of finding himself refused as a tenant for the land. If the Governor were personally interested in such transactions he could make a veritable milch-cow of the loan-places, while if he were a trickster like Van Noot he could find innumerable opportunities for evicting one holder and granting the land to another.

Governor Swellengrebel conferred a blessing upon all who succeeded him by abolishing this system. He sold the loan-places outright to their occupiers for a very reasonable sum, thus converting them into freehold. The occupiers were only too glad to pay the stipulated amount. They no longer had to pay ground-rent, so they cultivated the land, and laid out vineyards, whereas previously they had sown at most only as much land as was necessary to yield grain for their own domestic use. The East India Company gained a very considerable sum of money through the sale of the loan-places, while the occupiers of them, being now secure of their holdings, developed their land to the utmost of its capacity.

In the old days, before the system was changed, I knew a number of these loan-place holders. Many of them never touched a morsel of bread from one year's end to the next. Instead of bread they used to eat cold dried meat with their green, that is, freshly-killed, mutton. The dried meat they prepared by salting the flesh of an ox, hanging it in the air to dry, and subsequently cooking it. There are many farmers of this type in the more remote districts. Were it not that they do sometimes go hunting and bring home some sort of game, they would have no change of diet at all from beef and mutton. Their own laziness is the chief cause of their condition. It is not unusual for farmers of this type to wait until they have four or five



children and then to bring them all to be baptised together in the church at Stellenbosch or at Drakenstein. Probably in many cases they would postpone coming in even then, were they not obliged to come to town either to sell superfluous farm produce, or to obtain necessities such as tobacco, tea, coffee and sugar, or clothing. Shoes they do not wear at all. In the "*Nieuwste Beschrijving van de Kaap der Goede Hope*" it is stated that on account of the snakes that abound in the inland districts the inhabitants wear "little boots," but this is a mistake. They wear "*veldschoen*." Possibly the author failed to understand what *veldschoen* are, and translated the word as "little boots"; in fact, however, *veldschoen* consist of pieces of raw oxhide, and are usually drawn up by thongs so that they fit closely to the foot. They are very light and are comfortable when one is used to walking in them, but they hurt one's shins a good deal because when one wears them the sinews of the leg are drawn very tight. In various parts of Germany—in Lemgaru, for example, and Siebenbürgen, and Moldau and Wallachia—these *veldschoen*, made in various different fashions, are quite common.

I know nothing further of Governor Swellengrebel's administration, for at the beginning of 1741 I left the Cape and returned to Europe. The Governor cannot have remained in office much longer after I left, for I know that he was succeeded some years ago by Mijnheer Rijk Tulbagh.<sup>1</sup> I know this through reading in the little publications of der Herr von Justi that Governor Tulbagh sent the root of a beautiful plant to Brunswick for the Duke's garden. The plant was called "*Brunswigia*" in honour of the Duke; some years later it bore a flower, and Herr von Justi had an engraving of it made on copper, but as far as one can judge from the engraving the flower is not as beautiful in Europe as it is in its native country. In Africa these flowers are called "*Konings Kandelaar*." There are often eighty or a hundred of the flower cups in blossom and standing out from widely-spread leaves like candles from a bracket. At the Cape people pluck them when they are in full bloom and hang them from the ceilings in their rooms; they remain in unimpaired bloom for several days. When they are in full blossom in the open country, where they grow wild, the wind breaks the flowers off from their short stems and blows them

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<sup>1</sup> Tulbagh assumed office in February, 1751 (see Resolutions, February 27th, 1751, Vol. C., 42).

away, often carrying them more than a mile before they lodge against anything. The flowers are beautiful, being of a mingled red and white, but they give no scent. Governor Tulbagh is mentioned, moreover, by a certain French officer who visited the Cape on his way to the East Indies and who wrote a book describing his journey. (I forget his name; the book I chanced to pick up at the house of a friend who had borrowed it, and the passage I am referring to was the only one I read.) He speaks with great respect of the Governor, saying that since he has no children, and is therefore not obliged to cut a fine figure in society, he devotes the whole of his great fortune towards promoting the happiness of the people over whom he rules. He adds that the Governor is regarded with so much respect and love by the inhabitants that no one ever passes his house, even though the Governor himself be not present, without removing his hat. In this matter, however, the officer's information is not correct. The Governor may be deeply loved, and may be most deserving of such, or of even greater, tokens of respect, but nevertheless it is not in order to show honour to him that the passers-by remove their hats. A sentry always stands before the Governor's door, and in the whole of the East Indies it is the rule that the inhabitants must salute any sentry they pass in order to show their respect for the Company. If they fail to do so the sentry is empowered to strike them on the back with his musket, and it sometimes happens that a soldier who has been ill-treated on board ship by one of the naval officers is enabled, through this regulation, to revenge himself. Governor Tulbagh has a house of his own at the Cape; it is very pleasantly situated, being on a canal and surrounded by great oak trees, so it is possible that he stays there in the summer, for the Governor's house in the Castle, though much roomier, is as melancholy as a cloister. If he lodges in the Castle during the winter, there will then be no sentry posted before the door of his own house, nor will anyone salute it in passing.

It is not always easy for me to make a connected story out of all the various incidents I have to relate, and I am well aware that during the last few pages my central theme has been entirely lost sight of. It is high time that I returned to it and gave some account of the work achieved by Herr Allemann in his new capacity. To my great regret, however, I am unable to say much about this subject. I am sure that Herr Allemann did much good and useful work as Captain, but unfortunately my acquaintance with him was cut short not long after he had been pro-

moted. Owing to the fact, moreover, that my departure was entirely unexpected, I had not even the consolation of bidding farewell to my benefactor, for neither he nor I knew beforehand that we were to be separated. I cannot suppose that he is still alive, still less that he will ever see this book of mine, otherwise I would take this opportunity of making known to him the feelings of deep and heartfelt gratitude with which I regard him. He will never know this, but God's blessing for his goodness will cleave, nevertheless, to his descendants.

Of his work as Captain I know only a single incident. At the earliest opportunity after his promotion, and in fact, while I was still at the Cape, he modified the system of punishments for military crimes. Up till this time running the gauntlet had been a punishment that only the Fiscal could inflict, and since a fiscal punishment is always regarded as involving a certain amount of disgrace, men who had received this sentence always used to be sent from the Cape to Batavia. On the other hand, when a soldier committed a military crime, such as sleeping on sentry duty or being absent from the Castle for two or three nights without leave,<sup>1</sup> he was punished by the military authorities. First he was arrested; then the next day—unless it was Sunday—he was placed between three half pikes and held there by three men so that he could not move, and then beaten by two of his comrades with thin Spanish canes half as thick as one's finger. The men who administered the thrashing were generally members of the chief guard; after a time the first two were relieved by two more, and they in turn gave place to another pair; this changing was often repeated eight or ten times. Subsequently the culprit had to walk up and down in front of the Guard-house eight hours a day for eight days, carrying five muskets on his shoulders, nor was his punishment finished even then. For six, eight, or even ten weeks longer he was confined to barracks, that is, he was forbidden to leave the Castle, and consequently was unable to earn a stuiver.<sup>2</sup> Herr Allemann regarded this four-fold punishment as being at once too long drawn-out and too severe. He

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<sup>1</sup> If he was away more than three nights, Mentzel adds, he came under the Fiscal's jurisdiction.

<sup>2</sup> Mentzel adds: "The system of punishments is equally severe at Batavia, and there the culprit has in addition to wear an iron helmet over his head while carrying the muskets up and down, with the result that owing to the terrific heat many a man has lost his sight. He refers to Barchevitz "*East Indian Journey*" as giving an example of this.

abolished it therefore and substituted for it quite a different system, whereby the culprit was punished at parade by having to run the gauntlet ten or twelve times through about fifty men. When this was over he put on his uniform again and resumed his ordinary duties. He was not confined to barracks at all; moreover, since running the gauntlet was now a military punishment, it was no longer regarded as involving disgrace.

It is, of course, very necessary that military offences should be punished, but the new system was far more just than the old, especially when the crime was that of being found asleep on sentry duty. This was rightly regarded as a serious offence, it is true, but it was not fair to assume, as the authorities used to do, that the cause of the offence must necessarily be drunkenness. During the Cape summer the South-East wind often blows for ten or twelve days on end and then suddenly drops, whereupon the air grows as hot as though it had come out of an oven, and this overcomes the men, especially at night, making them so heavy and exhausted that it is almost impossible for them to resist sleep. Under such circumstances a sentry is hardly to be blamed if he sleeps on duty, and he certainly does not deserve so severe a penalty as used to be meted out to him.

There is an interesting story connected with this question of sleeping on duty, so I will take this opportunity to set it down. It affords a good example of quite unusual canine fidelity. About the year 1715 a brown poodle swam ashore from a ship that was wrecked in the Bay. As soon as it was observed in the Castle that one of the ships in the Bay was in danger of being driven ashore by a North-West wind—no other wind does shipping any harm there—a special guard used always to be sent to the spot to look after any goods that might be saved or washed ashore. It was to the guard, on this occasion, that the dog betook himself; they took compassion on him and gave him food to revive him. When everything from the ships had been collected and taken to the storehouse, the special guard left the spot, and the dog went with them. He had no particular master, but remained at the Guard-house and attached himself to the soldiers in general. They called him "Schiffer," and often used to pass the time by playing with him or teaching him all sorts of curious and amusing tricks through which he was enabled to make a good livelihood. Even the officers and the sergeants, in fact, often used to give him tit-bits that a man would have enjoyed. Little by little "Schiffer" formed the habit of accompany-



ing every night the patrol which made the round of the Castle and the Bastions. He always used to go twenty or twenty-five paces ahead of them, so that he was the first to come to each sentry. If the sentry were walking to and fro, the dog used to pass him quietly, but if he found one standing still or leaning up against anything as though he were asleep he used to jump up and bark at him. Unless the man were very sound asleep this would wake him and thus he would be saved from punishment. The dog had been twenty years at the Castle when he died; how old he was no one could tell. Never was the death of any other dog so deeply mourned by so many men! He had been stone blind for the last two or three years of his life, but he never failed to make the rounds with the patrol and to awaken any sentry who was not walking up and down when he passed.

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## CHAPTER XV.

**The Author of this Biography makes a Journey, which he did not Foresee, from the Cape to Europe.**

There is an old saying that "Man proposes but God disposes," and the circumstances of my life have frequently given me good cause to know its truth. My position at the Cape was excellent. Herr Allemann had from the first been my particular patron, and the fact that I was not promoted to higher rank was due entirely to my own wish. There were various reasons why I did not want promotion. I enjoyed the favour of many of the most prominent officials and was freely admitted into the best burgher society. My pay was rather better than that of a corporal, for I had fifteen gulden a month together with six gulden six stuivers kostgeld, while I was also provided with a very convenient dwelling of my own and with free firewood. During four years, moreover, my food cost me nothing, for I shared Herr Allemann's table, and received, besides, other emoluments and very considerable presents from him in return for instructing his children. It is true that he afterwards sent the children to another teacher by whose wife his daughters were instructed in sewing, knitting and other feminine accomplishments; but I had applied myself meanwhile to designing and making patterns for various articles required by ladies; point lace for example, and embroidery, whether with coloured wools or with silk, as well as white embroidered neckerchiefs and head-dresses. All these things were very ill-provided for at the Cape, so by designing them I made a considerable amount of money. The slave women from Bengal, Suratta and other similar places can work and embroider these articles most beautifully, so long as the designs are provided for them. These slaves are for this reason very valuable, and a housewife who possesses any of them keeps them employed upon work of this kind the whole year long. I was at that time the only designer at the Cape, and I am sure that my unexpected departure was much regretted by the ladies. Then again, if a coat-of-arms were wanted for a wedding, they used to come in a most flattering

manner to persuade me to undertake it, and if I did so I was paid four or five rijksdaalders for my trouble. These coats-of-arms contained the names of the bride, bridegroom, bridesmaid and best-man; it used to take me a couple of days to make one and the materials for it would cost me about a gulden. I was by this time thoroughly conversant with Dutch, and since I was in addition good at caligraphy and orthography—it is in the latter that the native Dutchman most frequently fails—I was often advised to enter one of the offices and become an assistant. It would have enabled me to rise higher in time, but nevertheless it did not attract me at all; as things were I had a house of my own and not more than one hour of official work every day, or even every other day. For the rest, I was my own master, and thus in my free time I was able to earn more than my pay and *kostgeld* put together. From all that I have said of my position, therefore, it will be seen that I had not the least reason in the world to wish myself away from the Cape. Indeed I liked my life there so well that I had thoughts of marrying and settling down there for the rest of my days; but as I said before: “Man proposes; God disposes.”

On the evening of January 2nd or 3rd, 1741—I am not sure of the precise day—I had not the slightest idea when I went to sleep of leaving the Cape; yet the next morning I found myself already on my way to Europe. It happened in this way: the ship *Hartenlust* was one of the last East Indian homeward-bound ships in 1740, and should have called at the Cape towards the end of April or the beginning of May. She was, however, driven so far out of her way by hurricanes that she lost the use of her compass; that is to say, she went so far towards the South Pole that the magnetic needle became useless and no longer pointed to the North; this usually happens when the 50th degree of South latitude has been passed, and as a rule, therefore, none of the Company's ships ever go below 45°, and if they are going to Batavia they try to keep along 40°, so as to drop into the stream of the Straits of Sunda. The captain and the chief mate of the *Hartenlust*, meanwhile, had to steer entirely by the sun, and by the stars at night, until they could get the ship further North again; but since they met continuous bad weather, with heavy clouds and contrary winds, they did not reach the Cape till the beginning of November, 1740. Twice had they been obliged to let some of the cannon go overboard in order to lighten the ship, for she had twice heeled right over and had lain with one side in the water. It had not been

necessary to throw the guns overboard; the sailors only had to cut the ropes that held them for them to fall into the sea of themselves. The ship herself had sustained considerable damage, and there had been many deaths among the crew, while of those who survived most were either very ill, or at best so weak that they had almost all to be taken to hospital as soon as they reached the Cape. Two months elapsed before the ship was repaired and the crew sufficiently convalescent to go on board again. Many of the men were still so ill that they had to be left behind, and replaced by men from the Cape. At length, on December 31st, 1740, or on January 2nd, 1741,<sup>1</sup> the *Hartenlust* was ready to set out on her journey to Holland—or rather to Zeeland, for she belonged to a Chamber there—and only waited for a fair wind.

Among the men who had been taken on at the Cape was a burgher called Laurich. He was married, but he could not get on with his wife. They were both excellent people, but their dispositions would not harmonise, so they separated, and the man obtained the Governor's permission to leave the Cape and return to his native place, which was Lüneberg in Germany, unless I am much mistaken. This Laurich was a friend of mine and he had promised to carry certain letters to Germany for me, and, if he did not go beyond Berlin himself, to give them in at the nearest post-station. Contrary to his expectations, however, he suddenly received urgent orders to embark, and in his haste he forgot to take my letters. It was a matter of great importance to me that he should take them, both because if he did so I should be freed from all doubt as to their delivery and also because it would enable me to get a reply to them in January, 1742. Had I been obliged to wait and send them by the next homeward-bound fleet from Batavia I should not have been so sure that they would arrive safely and I could not have expected a reply before January, 1743. It was for these reasons therefore that on January 2nd or 3rd I went down to the Bay to see whether the *Hartenlust's* boat had by any chance come to the shore. It might have done so, because any ship that is lying in the Bay always sends a boat every morning to fetch victuals and water. I had my trouble for nothing, however; two boats had actually come in from the *Hartenlust*, but both of them had already returned to

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<sup>1</sup> The *Hartenlust* passed muster and received sailing orders on December 31st, 1740 (see Journal of that date). (Archives: Vol. C., 311).



the ship. Not far from me a local fisherman, assisted by two slaves, was loading a boat with baskets of grapes and other fruit, which he was going to take out and sell to one of the ships in the Bay. I went up to him and asked him whether he was going to the *Hartenlust*. "No," he replied, "I am going to the *Baar*"; this was a ship that had come from Holland and that was lying further out than the *Hartenlust*. I asked the man whether he would take me to the latter on his way out to the *Baar*, and fetch me again in the evening when he returned. I offered to pay him if he would oblige me. "I will do so with pleasure," he replied. "Get into the boat and sit down." When I had done so he asked whether I knew how to steer, and, on hearing that I did, suggested that I should take the rudder while he took an oar, that we might reach the ship more quickly. Afterwards, when I was climbing out of the boat to board the *Hartenlust* I reminded him again to fetch me as soon as he could. He promised to do so and rowed off, while I climbed up the gangway and requested the captain's permission to come aboard. The permission was granted; in fact, I was welcomed very cordially, for both the first and the third mate had been on *De Vis* and were friends of mine. I hunted up my friend Laurich and gave him my letters, which he again promised to look after. He tried to explain to me at great length that he had been really unable to come and fetch them, but I dispensed with his apologies, being already well aware that he had been obliged to embark at a moment's notice. His father-in-law had managed to contrive this in revenge for some threatening words that he had let fall.

The ship was quite ready to sail and the crew had nothing special to do, so they were all very jovial. I passed the time with eating, drinking and smoking in the company of my various acquaintances, and was untroubled by a thought of care. Towards evening I saw the boat returning to fetch me, but she was running full before a northerly wind and too low down the Bay, so she could not reach the ship. The fisherman made every effort to bear up the Bay again, but the wind was dead against him and he could not manage it. Finally he had to abandon the attempt and steer for land, leaving me in the lurch. When I saw what had happened I asked the Captain if he would send me ashore in one of the ship's boats, and promised, if he did so, to give the men an anker of wine for their pains. "Friend," replied the Captain, "I would do anything I could for you, but that is impossible. It is nearly eight

o'clock. The boat, if it took you ashore, could not return here before eight, and I cannot let the men be away from the ship all night. Possess yourself in patience; early to-morrow morning I shall send a boat to shore and you can go with it. If the wind changes and we are able to sail, I will fly the "schouw" first thing in the morning, so that you will be sent for."

To fly the schouw—that is to hoist the ensign to the extreme point of the staff—is a signal of distress, indicating that a boat should immediately be sent off from land to find out what is the matter. If the ship is in serious distress a cannon is fired and then, even in bad weather, every effort is made to send out a boat, if it can possibly be managed, either with men or with an anchor and cable.

What was I to do? There was nothing for it but to be patient. I smoked a pipe with my friend and then went to the gunners' room, where I rummaged up a bed for myself as well as I could. I took off my hat and peruke, as well as my outer garments, tied a handkerchief round my head in place of a night-cap, and settled myself to rest. I slept soundly, and it was broad daylight when I awoke. I was still drowsing when I heard a great running to and fro on the deck over my head, and as I roused myself I became aware that the boatswain was singing:

O!—bro-sanne, O! brosen—op.

O!—brose-rhee, O! het mars zeyl mee—

This could only mean that the sails were being trimmed. I sprang up, flung on my clothes in a violent hurry, and as I did so heard the "Roederpenn" being moved from one side of the ship to the other. I rushed out of the gunners' room, carrying my hat and peruke, climbed up the stairs on to the deck, looked around me—and found that the ship was already out of the Bay and in the open sea! What was to be done now? The Captain and the rest of my friends were astounded to see me. I stood there utterly dazed. No one could help or advise me. The wind had changed at midnight; the ship had been lying held by one anchor only, so it took but a few moments to raise it; then the sails were set and the ship was speedily under way. In the bustle of departure no one had thought of me, but in any case I could not have been sent ashore, for the schouw, even if flown, could not have been seen, and besides, no boat is allowed to put off into the Bay during the night. There was nothing for it but patience. The Captain promised that if he met a ship outward-bound

towards the Cape he would, weather permitting, do all in his power to put me on board her. These promises, however, did not help me much, especially as there was but little likelihood that it would be possible for him to fulfil them. Meanwhile, I had nothing with me but what I stood up in: a red coat with silver buttons, about six Cape gulden in my pocket, and a Spanish cane with a silver head comprised the whole of my available resources. All my little wealth, the very pay that was due to me from September 1st to December 31st, 1740, my clothes and furniture,—in a word, everything that I possessed was left behind. Moreover, I had been torn from my patron and from all my kind friends and acquaintances, without even having been able to bid them farewell. I was deprived of everything that I valued, the only hope left to me was that I might arrive safely in Europe, and even that hope was full of fear.<sup>1</sup>

Our journey began well. We sped along and in a fortnight reached the Island of St. Helena, five hundred miles from the Cape. During the next week we covered the two hundred miles between there and the Island of Ascension, and a fortnight later we reached the Equator. Thus we had travelled one thousand miles in five weeks. Between the Line and Tropic of Cancer, however, we were overtaken by a squall, which at a single blow carried off all our sails, ten in number. The "Trevat" is a violent wind peculiar to this region; it springs up in a few moments and passes over as quickly; it blows moreover in a very restricted space, so much so that it will often overtake one ship and entirely miss another that is quite close to her. In our case, the "Trevat" was followed by a terrible downpour of a kind not unusual at that time of year. It was extraordinarily destructive, however, for shortly after it our clothes, which had of course been soaked through and through, seemed to rot away, and literally fell off our bodies. My shoes, which had been almost new when I left the Cape, fell apart and dropped off my feet. I had previously put away my red coat in a corner of the gunner's room and had gone about in my waistcoat; now I had to exchange my Spanish cane for an old blue overcoat, and to buy a pair of old shoes. They cost me a gulden, so I still had left five gulden in cash.

At length, on April 29th, 1741, with God's help, we

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<sup>1</sup> There is no mention in the official records of Mentzel's being carried off in this way. Probably it was not known what became of him.

reached the Flemish Banks. Towards evening we were joined by another ship, the *Kasteel van Middelburg* from Surinam. The tide was at the ebb, so we both lay at anchor together. Some of her officers came aboard us in the evening, and as they brought a couple of trumpeters with them we had a jovial time. About midnight they returned to their own ship and took with them one of the two pilots we had on board the *Hartenlust*, so as to be able to enter the harbour the next morning without having to wait for a pilot to come out to them. It sometimes happens that a pilot who has steered a ship out of Dutch waters is prevented by stress of weather from returning to land. Under such circumstances it is customary for him to remain on board until the Cape is reached. During the voyage he acts as second mate, and he returns to Holland in the same capacity on the first ship homeward-bound from the Cape. For his services during the double voyage he receives the ordinary pay of a second mate. The two pilots that we had on the *Hartenlust* were returning from the Cape in this way.

Towards morning there arose a violent stormy wind; between seven and half-past we lost two of our anchors, and at eight o'clock the third. There was nothing for it but to set sail and fly before the wind, let it cost what it would. At this moment the other ship lost her mainmast. A wave dashed right over our ship; it completely broke the "half moon"—that is, a great beam, more than half-a-yard thick—on the starboard side; it tore to pieces the eschaffotje and carried away the steward's pantry, with all the provisions stored therein, that lay beneath it. By God's mercy, however, the wind and a great wave together carried us clear over the most dangerous bank, and though a moment later our fore-sail was torn to ribbons, the greatest danger was now passed. The other ship struck the bank and was wrecked, all her valuable cargo being lost. She was not far from land, so many of her crew were saved, but the pilot they had taken from the *Hartenlust* was among the drowned.

Never in all my travels had I been in greater danger than upon this occasion. The Almighty aided us, however; at eight o'clock that evening we anchored off Blitzingen and our voyage was done. Upon our flying the schouw a boat immediately put off to us with a new anchor and a cable, the end of which we made fast to our mainmast. The next morning some of the Company's Commissioners from Middelburg came aboard us and read the roll. They asked the officers whether they had any complaints to make



about the crew, and this having been answered in the negative, asked the crew whether they had any complaints to bring against the officers. We gave the same answer and added that next to God it was the first mate whom we had to thank for our own safety and that of the ship. Now, as I said before, the first mate had been on *De Vis* when she was wrecked at the Cape, and according to the Company's rules neither he nor the Captain of *De Vis* could expect ever to be employed again, but our statement in his favour bore such good fruit that when the next fleet was sent out at Michaelmas he was given a ship of his own. Meanwhile, it was he who presented me to the Commissioners and explained to them the accident which had befallen me. They were very sympathetic and assured me that if I would wait till Michaelmas I should be sent out again with the rank of Corporal and should be allowed to resume my old position at the Cape. I replied, however, that I had already made up my mind to go to Germany and that my future course of action would depend upon certain circumstances.

All the crew were now discharged, and everyone's chief concern was to find means of getting ashore to Middelburg. One could accomplish this at a reasonable cost by means of one of the numerous little vessels—"sand-schuiten," as they were called—that were now surrounding the ship. I went to the gunners' room to look for my red coat, and found that it had not escaped the clutches of the sea. It had not been washed overboard, but the whole of the left breast of it was stained black. I had to put it on, for I had nothing else, but the one black breast afforded a magnificent contrast to the red and silver of the remainder! I went ashore with the gunner; he had a great quantity of stuff on board over and above the chest and four canisters allowed him by the regulations, and he was, therefore, obliged to charter a whole sand-schuit for himself in order to get it ashore. Middelburg was only a couple of miles away from the ship, but to charter the boat cost him twenty-five gulden. I and a few others helped him to load his things into the boat, so he took us ashore with him for nothing. The wind was dead against us, and though we tacked to and fro we made scarcely any progress. A man who had two horses on shore, offered to harness them to our boat and to tow it into Middelburg for two gulden, but the gunner was stingy and did not want to spend any more. For two hours we tacked vainly to and fro, while hail, snow and rain alternated with one another and with sunshine, till at last the boatman saw the impossibility of our ever reaching Middelburg without assistance, and offered himself to pay

the two gulden for the horses. He was in a very bad temper about it, but the horses were duly harnessed to the boat and at last we reached Middelburg. It was about three o'clock on a Saturday afternoon, April 30th, 1741.

Such were the circumstances under which I found myself once more upon European soil. I had no baggage, and no means but the five gulden in my pocket. I secured a lodging in a house just opposite the place where the boat had been fastened. The next day being Sunday, the boatman refused to unload the gunner's possessions and the gunner could not but submit. On Monday the boatman did not put in an appearance at all until evening, when he came into the house where I lodged and called for a glass of brandy. The gunner, who had been awaiting him for several hours, demanded to know why he had not unloaded. "Oh, yes!" said he, "I am going to the East India House first, early to-morrow morning, to ask whether a gunner is allowed to bring home so much baggage over and above the stipulated quantity, and then we shall see what is hidden in your boxes!"

As it happened, the gunner really had a great deal of contraband in his baggage, so he was terribly alarmed. He tried to soothe the boatman with fair words, but he had to pay down fifty gulden before he could induce him to unload his stuff. The cause of all the trouble was the small sum that the gunner had refused to pay for the horses.

I had to remain in Middelburg until the following Thursday, for I could not get a boat sooner, and since my lodging cost me a gulden a day, I had spent my last coin when finally I departed. It is true that the first and the third mates of the *Hartenlust* had both promised to assist me with money, but I had not looked them up, for to do so had seemed to me too much like begging. Through the assistance of some good friends, however, I was enabled to travel down to Ter-Couda in a barge, and from there to Amsterdam in a "trek-schuit," and I was allowed a certain amount of food during the journey. Once arrived in Amsterdam I hunted up my former host, Cornelis van Gelyn, whom I found to be still living in the same house and who cordially welcomed me. I explained the circumstances to him and asked him whether he would put me up.

"Not the least doubt about it," responded the honest man. "You repaid me before, and you won't remain in my debt this time. You shall want for nothing. If you need linen and other necessities my wife will see to the

matter for you." I had some money in Berlin that I could claim, so I wrote about it by the first post and addressed the letter to my brother. For nearly a month I waited in vain for an answer, and I began to think that he must be dead. At length, however, I did receive a reply. It came from Frankfort on the Maine, whither my brother had gone with the Prussian Embassy for the election of the Holy Roman Emperor.<sup>1</sup> My brother sent me a bill for a small amount drawn on his host's brother, one Mijneer Karl Wilhelm Geis, who lived in Amsterdam. At the same time he admonished me, and suggested that I would do well to go to Frankfort and interview him personally. I did so, and a little later, in September, 1742, shortly after the Peace of Breslau, I was able to return to Silesia.

Since that time, I have loyally served my king and fatherland to the best of my ability, such as it is. I am now seventy-two years old; all my life God has granted me good health and a sufficiency—sometimes, indeed, an abundance—of everything needful for my happiness; I confidently hope, therefore, that He will not desert me during my last days. Praise be to the Lord! I can in truth bear witness that, alike in times of peace and in times of trial, He has cared for me when no help seemed possible, and wonderfully has led me. All glory be to Him alone, for His thoughts are not our thoughts, nor His ways our ways. My soul has known this long, and surrenders itself, utterly, therefore, to His will.

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<sup>1</sup> Mentzel adds that it was on this occasion that the Elector of Bavaria was chosen as Emperor with the title of Charles VII. This took place in 1742.

## CHAPTER XVI.

### Short Description of the Military Forces at the Cape.

An admirable description of the Cape itself has already been given in the "*Nieuwste Beschrijving van der Kap van Goede Hope*," and I think therefore that it is unnecessary for me to attempt anything of the sort. Were I to do so, I should be obliged merely to repeat in different words what has already been said in the "*Nieuwste Beschrijving*," for except in a few matters of detail I could not improve upon the account given there.<sup>1</sup> In view, however, of the present war between England and Holland, and of the fact that the English are already on their way to seize the Cape, I think that it may not be out of place for me to give a clear account of the defensive possibilities of the place as well as of the military forces stationed there.

The actual Cape lies at the most southerly point of Africa, but the term is often applied to the whole Colony. If the name is taken in this way as denoting the whole of the southern portion of Africa in so far as it is inhabited by Europeans, then the boundaries of the Cape stretch far into the interior, and even at the present day are not clearly delimited, for they change continually as the population grows, and as new settlers are sent out by the Government ever more and more deep into the richest districts of the interior. The Hottentots have to give way before them, but they do so of their own accord and are quite willing to accept Europeans as their neighbours. If on the other hand the name is taken as denoting only the actual Cape itself, then it is by comparison a very small place; a peninsula surrounded on two sides by the open sea. It is on this peninsula that the Castle is situated and the town where the free burghers live. To the North is the Bay, or

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<sup>1</sup> Mentzel adds—rather ingenuously—"If, however, a new edition of the '*Nieuwste Beschrijving*' were to be published, and if the author would entrust me with the work of annotating it, I believe that there are several points which I could explain and elucidate."



roadstead, where the ships lie at anchor. The Cape has no real harbour; there is merely this Bay, formed by a rounded indentation of the coast line, and so large that fifty or sixty ships can lie in it at anchor. It could indeed hold more than that, but on the northern side of it the waves break so strongly upon the shore that it is dangerous for ships to anchor close to it. The Cape is dominated by two winds: the South-East from the beginning of September till the middle of April, and during the rest of the year the North-West. Of these two the South-East, though it is often extremely violent and though it sometimes blows without stopping for a fortnight, does no harm to shipping, for it blows the water out of the Bay and prevents any high waves from forming. The north-wester, on the other hand, has exactly the opposite effect. It blows from the open sea and raises towering waves in the Bay, which therefore becomes very dangerous to shipping; so much so that the East India Company has already lost millions there through shipwrecks. A short time ago it was ordered, for this reason, that during the four months when the north-westerns blow, all ships are to lie in False Bay, where they are as safe against the north-westerns as they are at the Cape against the south-easters. This will involve many preparations and considerable expense; buildings will have to be put up and many officials transferred; but the expenditure will be amply repaid even if only a single East Indiaman is thereby saved from wreck.

To the East of the Bay lies the continent of Africa; at its mouth, towards the West, and dividing the entrance into two passages, lies Robben Island, on which are stationed a sergeant and a few men, in charge of a number of prisoners. The latter work at a stone quarry and also in collecting mussel shells for lime-burning. No ship can enter the Bay save with a North-West wind, nor leave it save with a South-Easter, so it is fortunate indeed that during the months when the North-West is the prevailing wind, a South-Easter often blows for a short time and *vice versa*. Truly the Providence of the All Highest is marvellous! To the East of the Bay near the mainland lies Paarden Island, but it is small and of no importance, serving only as a grazing-ground for the mules when they are bringing forage to the Company's stables. In front of this island, right across the Bay, lies a reef which is only visible at ebb tide, but which cannot safely be crossed by any vessels. On the southern side of the Bay lies the open town and the Castle. In my time the town contained four or five hundred houses, but according to the "Nieuwste

Beschrijving" there are now about twelve hundred. The Castle lies to the East of the town. It is built in the shape of a regular pentagon and is fairly high, the walls being built of large stones. The two bastions on the mountain side—Oranje and Leerdam—are built higher than the others; it is possible, therefore, to turn the cannon on them and to fire over the lower ones at an enemy approaching from the sea; but if this were done both the cannon and the artillerymen would be completely exposed to hostile fire. There are altogether on the five bastions and in the armoury more than a hundred metal and iron cannon of different calibres, besides two big mortars, two howitzers and five or six little mortars on blocks. The Castle has no out-works. To cover the gate and the bastion Leerdam there are two half-moons, but as they face towards the houses I never could see the use of them. I suppose they were put there because the builders of the Castle thought them to be necessary for ornament! In front of these half-moons stand the holes out of which the earth was taken to construct them; they look like graves, are about as deep as up to the middle of a man of average height and are full of water. On the side towards the Bay—that is, towards the direction whence attack might be expected to come—the Castle is completely unprotected; there are no redoubts, ravelins, counter-scarpes, half-moons or glacis. It must be admitted, however, that the Bay itself affords the Castle some protection. It is nearly round, the circumference of it being about two miles,<sup>1</sup> and it is encircled with so many rocks lying close to shore, both above and just below the surface, that it forms a good natural fortification. In the neighbourhood of the Castle there is only one spot, a stretch of shore about eight hundred paces long, that is open enough to permit of larding from small boats. There are, moreover, a number of hidden rocks right out in the Bay at a considerable distance from shore, and these make it unsafe for ships to venture in close enough to land to make a bombardment of the Castle effective. The Castle itself is armed with a good number of heavy guns, twenty-four and thirty-six pounders, and in an artillery duel a ship, being constantly in motion, is always at a disadvantage as compared with a land battery.

There are three batteries outside the Castle: the Water-Kasteel of sixteen guns; another of six cannon, situated in the direction of the Bay and another of the same

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<sup>1</sup> i.e., ten English miles.

size in that of the open sea. The Water-Kasteel is the best situated for a bombardment of enemy ships. It is built upon rocks and surrounded by them, while its guns are placed low down over the water. If the gunners did but train them in a directly horizontal position on their carriages—and, of course, if they did not direct them too much either to left or to right—it would scarcely be possible for them to miss an enemy ship, while the holes that the balls would make would be close to the water-line, and therefore very dangerous.

The Company's armament at the Cape is good, but it is very badly served. The whole force of artillerymen consists of a gunner, an under-gunner, and eight or ten sailors called "Bosch-schieters," whose knowledge of their work is limited to the actual loading and firing of a gun. None of them know how to fix or set off the fuse of a bomb, nor how to load and adjust a mortar, nor how to test powder or to calculate the quantity of it required to project the ball any given distance. It is true that in time of war all the sailors at the Cape, about a hundred in number, are summoned to the Castle to serve the guns, but a hundred totally unskilled men, serving as many cannon, are not likely to produce any very overwhelming effect!

The regular military force at the Cape is generally reckoned at two hundred men. This includes all those who actually wear uniform and remain under arms; officers, non-commissioned officers, hautbois players and trumpeters as well as the ordinary soldiers. There are in addition about four hundred men who do no military service but who are employed in various ways; of these approximately one hundred are pasgangers and free workmen allotted by the Company to the service of the officials; one hundred are employed at the Company's various country posts; one hundred are lent to the settlers and work for them, while about as many more are "ambachtsmen" or workpeople. Thus if every man connected with the garrison were called to arms, the entire military force available would number at most about six hundred men, and of those less than half would have had any regular military training.

I must stop at this point to explain the system whereby men are lent to, and cleared of debt by, the settlers. When a farmer in the interior has more than one farm and needs an overseer, or when he needs a teacher for his children, he picks out a suitable man and then goes to the Governor for

permission to borrow his services. Such a request is seldom refused; never, in fact, except when the man in question is specially wanted for the Company's service and is destined for promotion. Before the man is released from military duty, however, the farmer has to pay down in cash anything that may be entered to his debit account in the Company's books, whether for his transport-brief or for anything else; the soldier is thus freed from debt to the Company, but has to repay his employer out of his wages. A schoolmaster of this sort is supplied with meat and drink as well as with tea, coffee and tobacco, while his pay is usually fourteen Dutch gulden a month for the first year, sixteen for the second and eighteen for the third. An overseer generally receives two gulden a month more. No soldier is released from service for more than one year, so if the employer wishes to continue an arrangement of this sort for a longer period he has each year to obtain a fresh permit. This arrangement enables the clerks responsible for the issue of the permits to make a considerable sum every year in perquisites. Every soldier is supposed to serve for five years before he can return to Europe, and for this purpose service with one of the settlers does not count, but by making presents to the right people it is sometimes possible to secure exemption from this rule. I have known men, however, who had gone on for twenty years in this way, working for one settler after another, leading an extremely pleasant, care-free existence, gradually collecting a little hoard of money, and evincing not the slightest desire either to re-enter the Company's service or to return to Europe. The life of a school-master under these conditions is particularly happy. He can always go from one farmer to another as the children under his care grow up; reading, writing, arithmetic and the catechism are all that he teaches, and if only he is a man of sober habits, taking wine—of which there is a superabundance at the Cape—in moderation, and not frequently getting drunk, his life can be one of perfect contentment.

According to the "*Nieuwste Beschrijving*," the inhabitants of the Cape number twenty thousand, but this estimate is not quite accurate. If one counted slaves and free bastard Hottentots, the number would be far greater; if Europeans only, it would be rather less. In any case, women and children as well as men are included in the estimate of twenty thousand; I think that hardly three thousand men able to bear arms could be called upon to defend the country were it attacked, and of those it would



be difficult to find two hundred who had ever smelt an enemy's powder. To arm the slaves against an attacking force would be the height of impolicy, but some use might be made of the bastard Hottentots. They can safely be trusted with weapons, for they are faithful, and they are often quite as good marksmen as any European.

The Cape, then, it is clear, is very ill-defended; its only strength lies in the protection afforded by the Castle against attacks from the sea. Under these circumstances it would be an act of the utmost folly for a hostile fleet simply to sail into the Bay and bombard the Castle. If it did so it would run a great risk, I feel sure, of being repulsed with severe loss, whereas there are other methods of attack which could scarcely fail of success. If it is true, as the newspapers tell us, that the English intend to sail into False Bay, to put their troops ashore there, to carry on the war by land and to attack the Castle from the land side, then assuredly the Cape is lost. Poor Cape!

False Bay, so called because from a distance it looks very like the real Bay at the Cape and because it is in consequence very deceptive to mariners, lies some miles behind Table Mountain. It is entirely undefended; there is no garrison on its shores, no battery, in short, nothing whatever to prevent an enemy from landing. All that the English need to do is to put ashore there a small force of cavalymen; two hundred would be quite enough, and it would not be necessary to supply them with horses, a sufficient number of which could easily be obtained in a single night from the farms in the district. Once mounted, this force would only have to proceed across country to Salt River, the passage of which they would be amply strong enough to hold. They would thus cut off the Castle from communication with the mainland and would prevent the burgher forces from reaching it.<sup>1</sup> The Castle and the Cape are shut in by a half-circle of hills—Lion's Head, Lion's Tail, Table Mountain and Devils Peak. From the latter a ridge or low spur runs down to within five hundred paces of the Bay, and the narrow stretch of level ground at its foot constitutes the passage of Salt River through which all traffic between the Cape and the mainland has to go. There can be no doubt that the English cavalry

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<sup>1</sup> Mentzel adds: "The burghers in the interior all, without exception, live half a mile (the German mile) apart, and even if they were summoned by fire signals the Castle would inevitably have had to surrender before they could even have reached their rendezvous at Stellenbosch."

—or, in default of cavalry, the advance-guard—will occupy this passage, for it is not commanded by the guns on the Castle. At the same time military science itself requires that the ridge should be occupied, and if the main body of troops does this and plants its cannon there, utilizing the inequalities of the ground for cover, the Castle will have no alternative but to surrender. That the attacking force should be strong is quite unnecessary; two thousand men would be quite enough. The Castle is entirely commanded by the ridge of which I am speaking; artillery planted there could rake it with ease and destroy at sight any living creature that showed itself, even for a moment. Under such circumstances it would be not bravery but foolhardiness on the part of the Dutch to offer resistance. Were they to do so, however, the English could do better than merely to carry out a general bombardment of the Castle. Since their East Indiamen always call at the Cape for provisions, they know well the most favourable places to attack, and it would be easy for them to cause frightful devastation with a few well-directed shells by blowing up one of the powder-magazines. Then again, since most of the pipes that carry water from Table Mountain for the use of the Castle and the burghers are quite exposed and unprotected, the enemy could with very little trouble cut them, and so deprive the whole town of water. Yet another method of attack open to them would be to take the Castle by storm. A mountain stream rushing down to the sea has worn out a deep channel. Normally it contains very little water, and by marching at night and making use of the shelter it affords a hostile force could creep up under the guns of the Castle, in fact, right up to its very walls, without its advance ever being suspected by the garrison. Once the sally-post was reached, a single petard would finish the business. I would wager, moreover, that not even the bare possibility of such an attack has ever occurred to the garrison.

I have already pointed out that an army of between three and four thousand men could be raised from among the townsfolk and farmers, but I do not believe that in face of an actual attack such an army would ever come into being. The invaders would presumably scatter broadcast throughout the country manifestoes full of promises, bound up, in case of misbehaviour, with threats of fire and sword. Everyone knows the usual effect of such manifestoes upon a civilian population. At the Cape that population consists for the most part of well-to-do people, loving peace and unaccustomed to war, to whom fire and sword would appear

a frightful means of coercion. Such threats, moreover, could easily be put into execution against them. Since nearly all the houses at the Cape have thatch roofs that readily catch fire, a single fire-ball would be sufficient to set the whole town ablaze and to reduce to ashes all of its twelve thousand dwellings. So long as the inhabitants could be reached by the enemy's threatening manifesto before they came together for military purposes, I am certain that they would never draw the sword. Their wives and children and their possessions are naturally dear to them, and there can be no doubt besides that they value their own safety, and would not willingly expose themselves to violent death, even although they are very well content with their present government. That they certainly are; the newspapers declared, a short while since, that the inhabitants of the Cape showed a strong disposition to follow the example of the American States and to declare themselves to be free, but this appears to me ridiculous. They have little desire for freedom, and it would be proportionately simple to bring them once more under the yoke. For my part I could see no reason why they should desire independence. It is always better to be protected than to have to protect oneself, and to run the risk, besides, of becoming the spoil of another conqueror.

Their present taxes, moreover, especially those of the burghers, are very supportable, and no hardships are involved in their collection. The East India Company takes all the grain that the farmers can sell to it at a fixed price of eight Cape gulden the muid. A tenth of the amount of grain brought in is first deducted; this is the heaviest tax the farmer has to pay, and being collected in this manner passes almost unnoticed; then for the remainder the farmer is paid the fixed price in cash. The other taxes—one gulden on every legger of wine, one on every ten cattle and one on every hundred sheep—are paid in yearly to the landdrost. If the Company, instead of imposing these taxes, deducted an equivalent amount from the price of grain and made the fixed price seven gulden a muid instead of eight, the inhabitants would not realise that they were being taxed at all. It is worth noting that in seasons of scarcity, while the farmer may not charge the bakers and his other customers more than the fixed price for his grain, they are allowed to pay more! In good seasons, on the other hand, they are not allowed to buy more cheaply.

Anyone at the Cape who possesses money can in many

ways earn with it more than is needful for him to live upon, so that he becomes steadily richer. There is often a superfluity of money to be put out at interest and the lender does not always stop to inquire whether his client is rich or poor, whether his real estate is worth more or less than the capital he desires to borrow, nor even whether he is a good manager, or can show that he has any reasonable hope of making money. The borrower has, however, to purchase a "*schepen bekentnis*," and to provide two burghers to act as sureties and to sign it along with himself. All three are equally responsible for the debt, and if the real debtor does not pay, the creditor claims his money from the wealthier of the two sureties, who, in turn, depends for assistance, *pro rata*, upon the second one. Both sureties, as a rule, show indulgence towards the debtor as long as he lives, so as to enable him to pay off, if not the debt itself, at least the interest upon it, but when he dies his property has to be sold by public auction. After one of these sales, payment is always made by instalments, the first falling due eight or twelve weeks after the sale, the second a year after the first, and the third a year later again. These sales, moreover, always take place twice over. The first sale is by upbidding, whoever makes the highest bid immediately receives a premium, or bonus, of ten, twelve or even more ducats, because he is seldom the real purchaser, and is generally obliged to let the property pass at once into other hands. As soon as the sale by upbidding is finished, the auctioneer, who is always a messenger of the Court of Justice, proceeds with the second sale. Thus, for example, if a house has fetched two thousand gulden at the first sale, he now asks four thousand for it, and then abates the price by a hundred gulden at a time, calling out continuously: "Three thousand nine hundred!" "Three thousand eight hundred!" and so on. When the price has come down to three thousand, he abates fifty gulden each time, shouting: "Two thousand nine hundred and fifty!" "Two thousand nine hundred!" and so on. When the price has been abated to a reasonable amount, somebody shouts "Mine!" and the sale is ended. The second purchaser is the real one and retains the property; the first only gets the premium. This kind of sale is very advantageous to the seller, for an intending purchaser is in dread every moment of hearing somebody else shout "Mine!" and therefore makes his own bid as soon as the price comes down to anything he can possibly afford. By the system of money lending I have described the needy are protected when they get into



difficulties, while at the same time creditors are made secure.<sup>1</sup>

The real poor, who cannot even earn their bread, are looked after by the church and the Deacons. In my time the church already possessed capital to the amount of more than two hundred thousand gulden, and it must be far more wealthy to-day, for although its charities take up much of the interest on its capital,<sup>2</sup> that interest does not constitute the whole of its revenue. The collection plate brings in a considerable sum every year, and at communion the more wealthy burghers quietly slip whole piles of ducats under the napkins that cover the vessels. The Dutch contribute willingly and generously towards the support of the poor, while the clergy receive their very considerable salaries direct from the State itself. Out of regard for their spiritual office, moreover, they are everywhere given precedence; the Upper-Merchants themselves give them the right hand, while their wives rank with those of merchants.

The Dutch East India Company used to have an establishment on the Island of Mauritius, but they abandoned it some sixty years ago and transferred the inhabitants to the Cape. The establishment had not been profitable, except for what the inhabitants themselves contributed. The chief products of the place were black and yellow ebony and a certain amount of ambra grifea that was cast up at times by the sea. There are no poisonous animals or insects on the island, but it is overrun by rats, with which the inhabitants wage perpetual warfare. As soon as the Dutch left the island, the French occupied it and called it *Isle de France*, while they also set up another establishment on a neighbouring island called *Isle de Bourbon*. *Isle de France* is now well inhabited and the French have a considerable force, both military and naval, stationed there. One hopes that in this war between England and Holland the French fleet from *Isle de France* will assist the Dutch at the Cape, and if that happens it will have been fortunate for the Cape to have had the

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<sup>1</sup> Mentzel remarks in implied explanation of this easy system: "Most of the families of the Cape hang together; they are nearly all inter-connected by marriage and they help one another out of difficulties and will not lightly let a relative sink."

<sup>2</sup> According to Mentzel each pauper supported by the Church received ten *rijksdaalders* a month, that is, twenty-four Dutch gulden of twenty stuivers the gulden, or nearly three times as much as the pay of a soldier under the Company.

French as such near neighbours. Woe to the Cape, however, and to all the Dutch East Indian possessions, if ever Holland goes to war with France! If that were to happen the Company would learn to their cost how serious was their mistake in abandoning the island. They must already regret having done so, but it is now too late.

From what I have said in this Chapter it should be evident to my readers that the English will meet with very little resistance at the Cape, and that it is possible for them to capture it with ease unless the French reach it in time to protect it and to prevent them from landing. It is true that even if False Bay were closed to them, there are still two other places, Saldanha Bay and Mossel Bay, where they might disembark; but both these bays are at a considerable distance from the Cape, and if the English did land there the Dutch would have time to collect an army and to march out against them in full force. Under the actual circumstances, however, and considering how easily the Cape may be taken by surprise, I do not believe that the inhabitants will expose themselves to much danger or run the risk of being shot simply in order to escape living for a time under the English flag. One imagines that it would only be for a time, for when the terms of peace come to be settled, the Dutch would surely do anything rather than cede to the English a place so indispensable to them as the Cape.

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## CHAPTER XVII.

### The Excellent Order which is Maintained in the Castle.

For a man who loves method it is a veritable joy to observe the excellent order maintained in the Castle. The whole work of the day is mapped out by the clock and is performed with the utmost punctuality. Indeed, were the military forces but as numerous and as well organised as the regulations which govern life at the Castle, no enemy would find the Cape an easy place to conquer. At the present time, however, those forces are incapable of making an energetic resistance, and before help could reach them from the French, or from local volunteers, the Castle would probably have fallen.

At the Cape days are not so long in summer, nor so short in winter, as here in Germany. They do not vary much in length; indeed, for the purpose of my narrative the variation may be reckoned as amounting to no more than half-an-hour either way, so it is possible to strike an average without much risk of error. An average military day, then, may be taken as from five o'clock in the morning till seven o'clock at night. Owing to the violent winds that frequently rage at the Cape, no clock can be put up in the open, so the hours are struck by hand upon a bell<sup>1</sup> that hangs in a little tower over the Castle gate. There are always two soldiers, "rondegangers" as they are called, stationed in the guard-house to see to the ringing of the bell; they know the time by an hour-glass which they take it in turns to watch and to reverse. The glass itself is regulated by a sun-dial that stands in the Castle. At four o'clock in the morning the corporal of the guard, accompanied by the two rondegangers, goes out to make the daybreak round. He has to waken the adjutant, the sergeants who are for the time being in charge of the companies, the drummer whose turn it is that day to go on duty, the piper, if there is one, and the six rondegangers who are not on duty (there are always eight of them). At the same hour a special watchman goes to the barracks of the Governor's guard, and awakens the drum-

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<sup>1</sup> The bell weighs about six hundredweight, adds Mentzel.

mers and the grenadiers, but these men are not at this hour obliged to get up and dress themselves completely. They merely put on their underclothes so as to be able to go on duty at very short notice should the Governor happen to be going out early. Meanwhile, before the patrol completes its round it passes the bell-tower, and one of the rondengangers climbs up and strikes four o'clock. The patrol then returns to the guard-house, where it is challenged; the corporal gives the guard the pass-word and is dismissed. The two trumpeters now sound the morning call and a couple of other pieces; then the two drummers<sup>1</sup> and the piper sound the reveille. By this time it is getting light; the adjutant, the sergeants and the rondengangers come to the guard-house; the guard stands to arms, and the adjutant, accompanied by seven rondengangers, goes to the Governor's house to fetch the keys of the gate. They are carried by one of the rondengangers, while the other six, armed with pikes, form a guard. They do not at once open the whole of the gate; the little wicket is first unlocked; then the corporal accompanied by two men, goes outside to see whether everything is in order. He unlocks the turnpike, posts a sentry by it and returns with the other man to report, whereupon the guard presents arms, the gate is opened, the drums are beat; the sentry by the turnpike raises it and stations himself at his post in front of the gate; one of the rondengangers, having already climbed up into the tower, strikes the bell, and the adjutant, accompanied by the other rondengangers takes the keys back to the Governor's house. After this the sergeants report to the adjutant, and if nothing untoward has happened they all return to their quarters.

At six o'clock the bell is sounded again. The slaves and the ambachtsmen now go to their work, and any soldiers who are newly-joined may be drilled in front of the guard-house by the sergeant. Towards seven o'clock the drummers and the piper post themselves in readiness, and on the last stroke of the bell they sound the assembly. Straightway the corporals appear, leading from their barracks the men whose turn it is that day to be on duty. They assemble in front of the armoury; the adjutant thereupon holds the parade, allots the men to the various guards<sup>2</sup> and sometimes drills them for a few moments.

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<sup>1</sup> That is the one on duty and the one whose turn it is to go on duty that day.

<sup>2</sup> That is, to the main guard and to the various minor ones stationed in batteries, etc., outside the Castle.



Towards eight o'clock the officer of the guard appears accompanied by the six hautbois players; the men stand to arms, then on the stroke of eight march off with drums beating and hautbois playing. They station themselves in front of the Governor's dwelling and opposite the guard-house; meanwhile, the guard that is going off duty has presented arms and marched out; the relieving guard, in its turn, as soon as it arrives, presents and then shoulders arms. The officers and the sergeants of the two guards now meet and talk while the two corporals go round together to relieve the sentries, and the small detached guards, including the Governor's, march off to their various posts. The hautbois begin to play as soon as the officers separate, and go on until the corporals return and report that all the sentries have been relieved. Then the old guard marches off and the new one occupies the guard-house. All the officials, merchants, bookkeepers and assistants alike, may now be seen hastening to their various posts. This is the hour, moreover, when anyone desiring a personal interview with the Governor comes to his house and asks for an audience.

When nine o'clock has been struck the *rondeganger* rings the bell to announce the assembly of the Council, whether for judicial or for political business. Anyone who has been summoned before it, or who wishes to make any complaint or suggestion, has now to make his appearance. On Saturdays the Council acts as a Matrimonial Court; couples desiring to be married have to present themselves before it in person, the Saturday before the banns are published. They are questioned by the Councillors as to possible hindrances, such as nearness of kin; if there are none their names are entered in a book and the marriage licence is given to them.

The striking of the eleven o'clock bell is the signal for the slaves, ambachtsmen, officials and clerks to cease work for a time. The twelve o'clock bell is timed by the sun-dial, except in cloudy weather. On the stroke of the hour, the sergeant of the guard takes his report to the Governor, holding his halberd in one hand and the written report in the other. The officer of the guard goes off duty at the same time and has his dinner either with the Governor or at his lodgings. At one o'clock the bell is rung to recall to their labours the workmen and slaves, attended by their "baase," or overseers; but the clerks and civil officials do not return to work till two o'clock. They lay their pens down again, moreover, at four, except when there is any special pressure of work owing to

the imminent departure of a homeward-bound fleet. At six o'clock the ambachtsmen and slaves desist from work, and the six hautbois players stand in front of the barracks and play, first an evensong and then various other pieces, for about half-an-hour. When they stop, the drummer whose turn it will be to go on duty next day stands on Leerdam and beats the Appel until nearly seven o'clock. During that time all the soldiers who have to be in their barracks before the gate is closed hasten back to the Castle. Shortly after seven o'clock the roll is read, and any man who gets back too late catches it with the long cane from the corporal in charge of the barracks. When the roll has been read each corporal leads his men to the hall in the Governor's house, where evening prayers are held.

At this time, also, the Captain comes to the Governor to get from him the pass-words for the night, one for the guard in the Castle and the other for the burgher guard outside it. The adjutant, accompanied by seven rondegangers, also comes to the Governor's house before prayers begin to fetch the keys of the gate. He leaves them at the guard-house. The guard stands to arms without presenting them while the great gate is closed; it is not locked as yet and the little wicket gate is left open, though guarded by one of the rondegangers. The corporal, accompanied by two men, now goes to the turnpike, which stands some hundred paces in front of the gate; he closes, but does not lock it and leaves a sentry beside it. As soon as he returns the bell is rung, the captain and the adjutant return to the hall and prayers begin. A verse and a psalm are sung; then comes a short prayer; then after another verse the ceremony is over. The corporals go out to the guard and the soldiers return to their barracks. The Captain now gives the two pass-words to the adjutant, and tells him of any orders or announcements that are to be communicated to the guard. As soon as this has been done the trumpeters blow an evensong and a couple of pieces after it, while the adjutant goes to the guard-house, announces the pass-word and gives any orders with which he has been charged. The sergeant of the burgher guard, accompanied by two of his men, now comes up and receives his pass-word. He has to communicate it to the Councillors and to the burgher officers.

From half-past nine until ten o'clock the bell is rung continuously. This is the signal for everyone who lives in the Castle to present himself there. At this time also an army surgeon from the hospital comes each evening to the

Castle, and spends the night there so as to be on hand in case he is needed for unexpected illness. He brings with him certain medicines and instruments for blood-letting. (Any man who falls really ill is at once taken to the hospital and is well looked after there. He receives full pay, moreover, in addition to food and medicines, even although he remains ill for a considerable time, but after six months, if he is still not convalescent, he is given half-pay.) About ten o'clock the roll is read again in the various barracks so as to make sure that everyone is present, and woe betide any man who is absent overnight without leave.

As soon as ten o'clock has struck the two drummers and the piper sound the tattoo. The corporal of the guard goes out through the wicket gate, locks the turnpike, and brings back with him the sentry who had been on duty by it. The guard falls in and presents arms, though the drums are not beat; the gate is locked, and the adjutant, accompanied by the two rondengangers on duty, takes the keys back to the Governor's house. From there he makes a round of the Castle. In all the barracks that he passes, the corporals stand ready to report to him whether all their men are present. The ambachtsmen take their report to the sergeant of the guard. When the adjutant and his companions reach the guard-house they are challenged and dismissed, the adjutant thereupon going off to his own quarters. At eleven o'clock the sergeant of the guard goes the round and gives the pass-word to the officer when he returns. If, as sometimes happens, the officer is not in the guard-house, one of the rondengangers gives the pass-word to the corporal of the guard. Just before midnight, and every hour thereafter until four o'clock, the two rondengangers go out and patrol the Castle by themselves; they always go before they strike the hour, their object being to catch any sentry who may happen to have gone to sleep on duty and who would probably be awakened by the sound of the bell. Each sentry has to challenge the patrol two several times, once when they approach him and again when they are going away. When they are about twenty paces distant from him either way he has to shout "Who is there?" and on receiving the answer to bid them pass. I do not know the reason for this double challenge and answer unless it be to make strangers believe that the Castle is guarded by twice as many sentries as are really there. At Batavia, the adjutants when they make the rounds usually let the sentries challenge them two or

even three times before they answer. This system was once misunderstood by a new soldier who had just come out from Europe. The corporal explained to him before he went on sentry duty that when the patrol came to him he was to call three times "Who is there?" and that if he received no answer he should immediately fire. In due time the patrol reached him; he shouted "Three times who is there?" The adjutant gave no answer, whereupon the sentry fired and shot him dead. At four o'clock the corporal of the guard makes the daybreak round I described before. Precisely the same order is followed each day so that every one knows exactly what he has to do and at what time he must do it.

In all the Company's East Indian possessions, as well as at the Cape, the whole work of the day is planned out in the same fashion, and everywhere the passage of time is marked in the same way, that is, by striking the hours by hand upon a bell. It is this fact that has given rise to the adage so frequently heard in the East and even in Holland itself:

"Hütet euch für das Land

Wo man die Glocke schlägt mit der Hand<sup>1</sup>.

Most earnestly and emphatically do I commend these words to the notice of my readers. Perhaps some of them are young men; perhaps, under the pretext of seeing the world, and really in the hope of amassing great fortunes, they are inclined to go to the East Indies. If so, let them remember that in time of peace every ship that leaves Holland for the East carries between two hundred and fifty and three hundred men, whereas the homeward-bound ships bring back only one hundred. Where are the rest? Where are those whose ships never return at all, but remain in the East, or else suffer shipwreck? My friends, out of every hundred men—especially if they be soldiers—who go to the East, seldom more than thirty live to return. Out of every hundred men who remain in the East seldom more than ten obtain promotion or are employed in a service that enables them to earn a decent living. Out of a thousand men who did obtain promotion, you would seldom—very seldom—find a single one who had experienced real good fortune, and who returned to Europe a rich man. Remember these things, my friends, and do not go to the East. Learn to support yourselves by some honest trade and remain at home in your Fatherland.

<sup>1</sup> "Beware of the land

Where the clocks are struck by hand."



## APPENDIX.

### Description of an East Indiaman. Her size, cargo and crew.

It is not unusual, when travel is the topic of conversation, for one to be asked what is the size of a ship, and one is often perplexed what to answer. Ships of war, for example, differ in size so much that they may carry anything from forty guns to a hundred and ten, while other vessels, such as frigates, galliots, herring-boats, merchantmen, corvettes, brigantines, lute ships, hookers and the like, differ enormously both in size and in construction. Even Dutch East Indiamen are not all the same size, but for the benefit of such of my readers as are curious after knowledge, and have never had an opportunity of seeing for themselves big, ocean-going vessels, I will try to describe the general type to which most Indiamen belong.

If they are to be really serviceable for the Company's purpose, the first essential is that they should be very strongly built. This is necessary to enable them to withstand wind and weather, and also in order that they may carry a large amount of cargo. The normal cargo of an East Indiaman is 700 lasts, each last being reckoned as equal to 4,000 Dutch pounds, but consisting, in actual practice, of as much cargo as occupies 42 cubic feet of space. There are, however; some kinds of cargo that differ markedly from the ordinary type in the proportion of size to weight, being either light but bulky or the reverse, and for goods of this sort there is a separate scale. Thus, for example, eight hogsheads of wine are reckoned as a last; so are five casks of brandy, five casks of dried prunes, twelve tuns of herrings, thirteen tuns of tar, three thousand six hundred pounds of almonds, seven quarteels<sup>1</sup> of blubber, four pipes of oil, two thousand pounds of wool; and so on.

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<sup>1</sup> A quarteel was a measure used by the Dutch East India Company for determining the quantities of liquids—for wine-pipes, casks or hogsheads. (ten Dale.)

The following measurements represent the size of a ship that can take 700 lasts of cargo:—

The width of the ship, at its broadest point above water	=	42 feet
The length of the keel	=	182 feet
The breadth of the keel	=	2 feet
The thickness of the keel	=	2 feet
The height of the cargo space	=	17 feet
The height of the second deck	=	7 feet
The height of the third deck	=	5 feet
The height of the bulwarks	=	5 feet
The length of the galleon in the fore part of the ship	=	32 feet
The breadth of the galleon in the fore part of the ship	=	28 feet
The height of the stern from the keel to above the rudder, or below the cabin	=	28 feet
The height of the cabin	=	9 feet
The height of the deckhouse above the cabin (where the Captain's quarters are)	=	7 feet
The height of the mainmast, in all	=	170 feet
The height of the foremast	=	140 feet
The height of the mizzen mast	=	70 feet
The length of the bowsprit	=	80 feet
The breadth of the crows-nest on the mainmast	=	18 feet
The weight of each of the three large anchors	=	38-40 cwt
The weight of the largest sheet anchor	=	45-46 cwt
The anchor-cable is 18-20 inches round.		

A ship of this size in time of peace usually carries between 280 and 300 men. The following table shows the different ranks together with the pay each one receives:—

*Officers.*

	<i>gulden per month</i>
The Captain—according to the length of time he has commanded a ship .. .. . receives	50-80
The first mate .. .. .	40
The second mate .. .. .	30
Two third mates—derde waacks—each of whom .. .. .	20
The seur or bookkeeper—when there is not an under merchant on board .. .. .	30
The doctor .. .. .	30
The domine or sick comforter .. .. .	20
The boatswain .. .. .	20
The schiemann or boatswain's mate .. .. .	20
The gunner .. .. .	20
The upper ship's carpenter .. .. .	24
The commander or sergeant of the soldiers .. .. .	20
The bottelier or steward .. .. .	20
The cook .. .. .	20
The upper sail maker .. .. .	20
The upper cooper .. .. .	20
The second doctor .. .. .	20
The master carpenter .. .. .	20
The under ship's carpenter .. .. .	20
The trumpeter—when there is one .. .. .	20

*Petty Officers.*

The under-boatswain .. .. .	receives	14
The under-boatswain's mate .. .. .	"	14
Three under-gunners, each of whom .. .. .	"	14
The under-steward .. .. .	"	14
The under-cook .. .. .	"	14
The under-sailmaker .. .. .	"	14
The under-cooper .. .. .	"	14
The under-carpenter .. .. .	"	14
Two under ship's carpenters, each of whom .. .. .	"	14
The under-doctor .. .. .	"	14
The ship's corporal—who is either a smith or a locksmith .. .. .	"	14
Four quartermasters, each of whom .. .. .	"	14
Two soldier corporals—landspassate—each of whom .. .. .	"	12
The provost .. .. .	"	12

*Soldiers.*

Six, eight or ten adelborsts—who are in fact nothing but common soldiers, but who are favoured and receive extra pay—each of whom .. .. .	"	10
Fifty soldiers, each of whom .. .. .	"	9

*Sailors.*

Forty to fifty experienced sailors—able to perform all the work of a ship—each of whom .. .. .	"	11
Forty to fifty experienced sailors, each of whom .. .. .	"	10
Forty to fifty less experienced men—but having a knowledge of the compass and able to steer—each of whom .. .. .	"	9
Twenty to twenty-four hooploopers—boys gaining their first experience of sailing—each of whom .. .. .	"	7-8
Ten cabin boys, each of whom .. .. .	"	5
Ten scrubbing boys, each of whom .. .. .	"	5

It should be noted that the relative proportions of the three classes of sailors cannot always be the same, for if the Company cannot get enough men of one type, it is obliged to take on more of another.

Of the experienced men, nine or ten are allotted to the "schuit," and eight or ten to the "boot"; it is their duty to man these boats at the word of command and either row or sail them. They are called "schuitsvolk" and "bootsvolk" respectively. Six experienced men are stationed in each watch; it is the duty of two of them to stop in the "kabelgat"—that is, the place where ropes of all sizes are stored, besides other things such as tar, pitch and "inselt." They have to be always ready to give out any of these things as they are wanted, and must be able if necessary to find them in the dark. They are called "kabelgaste" and are under the command of the

boatswain, who has in his charge everything of this sort except the heavy anchor cables. The latter are under the inspection of the gunner. The other four men are called "Ruimwerkers"; their duty is to work for the bottelier when victuals, wine or brandy are fetched out of the "ruim" or hold. Finally, the gunner chooses from among the experienced men his "bosch-schieter," that is, the assistants who help him in all the work connected with the guns, the gunners' room and the powder room.

The young sailors or "hooploopers" are divided among, and have to work for, the various deck officers, such as the boatswain, the cooper, the gunner, the steward and the carpenter. The cabin boys, who are usually children of a good type, eager to follow the sea, wait upon the officers of upper rank. The scrubbing boys, on the other hand, are all of a more common type; they are not employed much, and only go on board to accustom themselves to life at sea, with a view to becoming sailors in due course. They have to serve for seven years, and though at first they are not very useful and do not really earn the wage they are paid, they make up for that in the later years of their service by earning it twice over.

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